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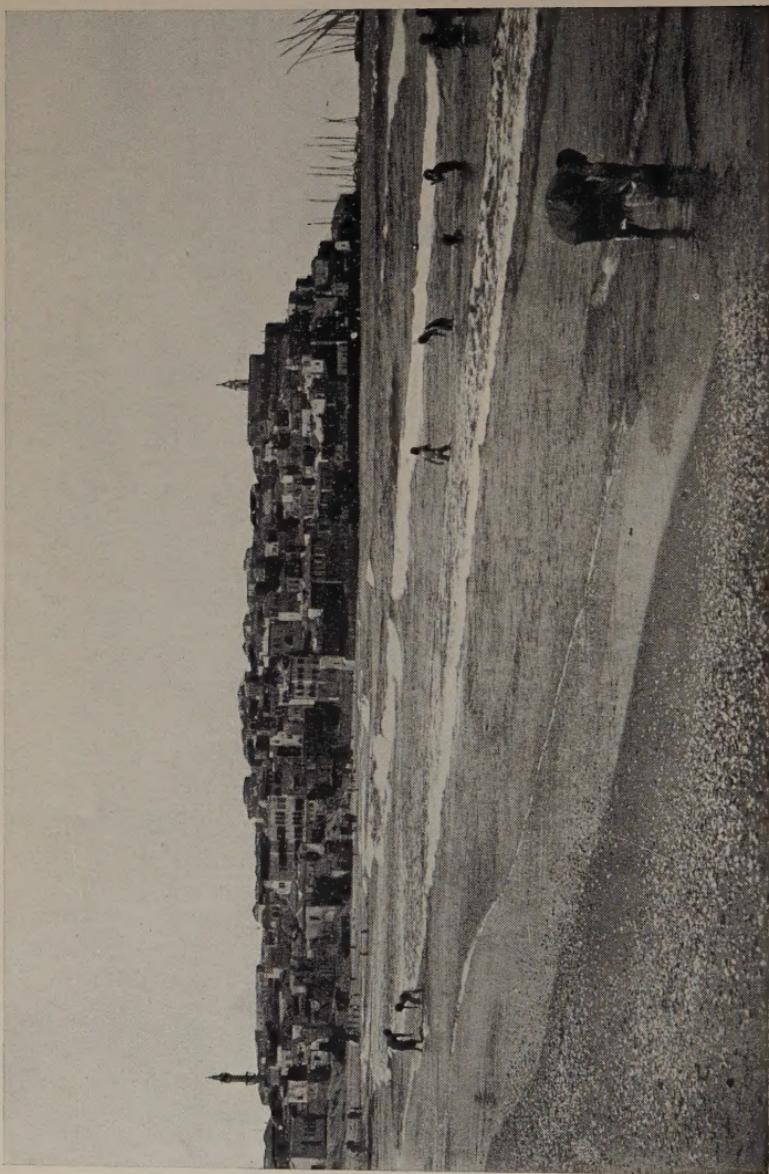
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THE GATEWAY OF PALESTINE

TO MY WIFE



JAFFA : THE OLD CITY IN 1914, FROM THE NORTH

Fig. 1

[Front.]

The Gateway of Palestine

A HISTORY OF JAFFA

By
S. TOLKOWSKY

"History compels us to fasten on abiding issues, and rescues us from the temporary and transient. Politics and history are interwoven, but are not commensurate."

LORD ACTON.

"Many famous men have been buried under ground,
Of whose existence on earth not a trace has remained."

THE GULISTAN OF SA'DI.



ALBERT & CHARLES BONI
NEW YORK [redacted] 1925

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PREFACE

The name of Jaffa (Hebrew *Yaphô*, Arabic *Yâfâ*) is of Phoenician origin and means “the beautiful” or, according to St Gregory of Nazianzus, “the observatory of gladness”; and the fame of its beauty has never ceased throughout the ages of history. An Egyptian traveller, thirty-two centuries ago, praises the charm of its gardens; a Jewish pilgrim of the Middle Ages calls it “the Beauty of the Seas”; and the French poet, Lamartine, writing at the beginning of the last century, describes it as “a perfect abode for a man weary of life, and who desires nothing but a place in the sun.” Few towns, indeed, can rival Jaffa, with its white or gaily-coloured houses towering amphitheatrically above one another up the steep slopes of its rocky promontory, with its two wings of yellow sand-dunes stretching north and south along the shore, and with its green belt of orange groves covered at one and the same season with the gold of the ripening fruits and the snow of the new blossoms. Long rows of cypresses, designed to screen the fruit-trees from the sea-winds, cut dark lines across the emerald expanse of leaves which here and there is studded with the red, flame-coloured, star-shaped blossoms of the pomegranate. During the day the air currents that rise vertically from the heated surface of the soil lift the scent of the orange flowers high up into the sky, where it is lost; but, in the stillness of night, all the perfumes of Provence and all the scents of Arabia fade into insignificance compared with the powerful fragrance which the cool wind that blows down from the mountains of Judah carries with it for miles over the dark blue sea, telling the mariner that the Land of Promise is near.

But if the fertility of its soil and the bold outline of its site expressed itself in beauty that attracted and charmed the traveller, these same circumstances and others, arising out of the geographical location of the town and the topographical features of its immediate surroundings, resulted in endowing Jaffa with great military strength and agricultural and commercial wealth. Thus it is that Jaffa became a standing temptation to the pirates of the sea and the roving bedouins of the desert, an obstacle alike and a coveted prize to every invader and conqueror, a *terra irredenta* to every nation that ever ruled on the Judaean mountains. No other city, perhaps, has been so often besieged, captured, sacked, destroyed, and rebuilt.

Yet, notwithstanding the romance of its eventful career,

THE GATEWAY OF PALESTINE

writers on Palestine, fascinated by the spiritual glory of Jerusalem, have left Jaffa entirely aside and have made no attempt, so far, to present a comprehensive picture of its history. It is true that the many radical destructions which the city has undergone have left very few monumental remains capable of arresting the interest of the lover of old things. But the records of Babylon and Egypt, of Phoenicia and Assyria, of the Hebrews and the Greeks, of Rome and Byzantium, of the Arabs and the Latins, as well as the narratives of the many pilgrims of the great religions to whom Jerusalem is holy, are comparatively rich in reminiscences referring to our town. To collect this widely scattered material, to sift and to check it, and to attempt to reconstruct out of it the history of Jaffa, is the purpose which I have set myself with the present volume.

I have to express my acknowledgments to the various friends whose kindness in allowing me to peruse their libraries has enabled me to supplement the material in my own possession; foremost amongst these friends are: Colonel Harold J. Solomon, late Director of the Department of Commerce and Industry of the Government of Palestine, Mr. H. C. Luke, late Assistant Governor of the Jerusalem District, Mr. Albert M. Hyamson, Controller of Labour of the Government of Palestine, and Dr. Arthur Ruppин, of the Zionist Executive in Jerusalem. I also wish to thank Messrs. Frederick Murâd and Ali Effendi el-Mustakkîm, both of Jaffa, for their kindness in supplying me with information relating to events at Jaffa within the period covered by their own recollections.

The illustrations are partly reproductions of material published in the works of previous writers, *int. al.* in the *Quarterly Statements* of the Palestine Exploration Fund, to whose Committee I herewith express my obligation for their permission to reproduce the pictures in question. The 1923 map of Jaffa and Tel Aviv was specially drawn for the present volume by the technical services of the Township of Tel Aviv. The pictures of Jaffa by Kootwijck and Lebrun are from photographic reproductions which were kindly made for me by the learned Fathers of the *Ecole Biblique des Dominicains de St Etienne* at Jerusalem. The two aerial photographs of Jaffa taken by the German Flying Corps in 1917 were graciously placed at my disposal by Mr. Arieh Salomon, of Jaffa; whilst the aerial views reproduced on pages 2, 162, 164, 165, 175 and 176 were specially taken for this book in July, 1923, by the R.A.F. Station at Ramleh (Palestine), a courtesy which I deeply appreciate and for which I express my sincere gratitude to Air Vice-Marshal Sir Henry Hugh Tudor, K.C.B., C.M.G., General Officer Commanding the Troops in Palestine, and to the officers under his command.

Jaffa, February, 1924.

S. T.

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NOTE ON ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN THE FOOTNOTES

P.E.F.Q.S. Palestine Exploration Fund Quarterly Statements

P.P.T.S. Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society

Z.D.P.V. Zeitschrift des Deutschen Palästinavereins

CHAPTER I

THE BEGINNINGS (c. 4000—c. 2500 B.C.)

Jaffa is one of the oldest existing cities of the world. Pliny,¹ and Pomponius Mela² after him, tell us that it was founded even prior to the Deluge; other ancient authors are more precise and ascribe its foundation and the origin of its name to Japhet, one of the sons of Noah. One thing is certain, namely, that the oldest historical records we possess to-day are of more recent date than the first foundation of the city.

The site of Jaffa was, indeed, predestined to give rise to an important settlement. A rocky hill, about 130 feet high, steep towards the sea but with a gentle slope on the land side, with lower ridges stretching forth from it towards the north and the south, represents the only eminence of the kind and the only strong position on the shallow coast from Egypt to Mount Carmel. A true cape, it projects into the sea, a landmark visible from a far distance; the shore, just north of it, bends inward and forms a small bay with a deep sandy beach. In front of the main hill a low line of reefs extends into the waters in a rough semi-circle, forming a shallow natural harbour. Behind the hill, there stretches a tract of fertile soil, rich in water at a moderate depth: a region which the hill and its northern and southern prolongations have screened from the

¹ *Joppe Phoenicum, antiquior terrarum inundatione, ut ferunt.*
Pliny: *Historia Naturalis, Lib. V, cap. 13.*

² *De Situ Orbis Libri III, Lib. I, cap. 2.*

danger of the sand dunes, which everywhere else along this sandy coast have for many centuries been eating their way into the cultivated lands. It is on this side that Jaffa is encircled by the belt of orange groves for which the town is famous; part of the lands covered to-day by these groves was in olden times occupied by marshes, which contributed to increase the natural strength of the site against enemies approaching it from the east. Near the foot of the hill, on its north-eastern side, two perennial springs of good drinking water are happily located in such a manner that, when the town was encompassed by walls, the springs were generally situated within the latter, a circumstance which enabled Jaffa on several occasions to sustain sieges prolonged over several months. The harbour, it is true, is but small and shallow, and all but safe when a strong wind blows from the north or the west. But in those remote times when the Mediterranean Sea was still to the mariner, as Homer says,

“ The perilous gulph of Ocean . . .
That wild expanse terrible, which even ships
Pass not, though form'd to cleave their way with ease,
And joyful, in propitious winds from Jove,”

when the sailors' greatest terror was to be forced

“ to roam all night the Ocean's dreary waste ”

instead of, as was their usage, beaching their craft when evening fell, and awaiting the return of day, before again confiding their flat-bottomed trading barks to the perils of the waters: in those days even the shallow harbour of Jaffa, with its dangerous reefs, was a welcome shelter. It was, moreover, the place of landing nearest Jerusalem, and was

[face p. 2]

JAFFA: THE ARAB TOWN IN 1923, FROM THE NORTH
(Aerial photograph by the R.A.F., Ramleh)

Fig. 2



$\tilde{z}^8 \tilde{z}^5 \tilde{z}^8$

situated near the most important crossways of southern Palestine. In front of it passed the oldest trade route and military highway of the world, the "Way of the Sea" (*Via Maris*), or the "Way of the Philistines," which led from the Nile to Damascus and the Euphrates, across Mount Carmel and the hills of Galilee; it was also the starting point of all the roads which, by the valleys of the low-country of the Shephelah and the narrow gorges of the Judean mountains, led from the coast and the *Via Maris* up to Jerusalem and Shechem (Nablus). Thus the natural strength of the hill, the singular strategic value of its geographical position, and the fertility of its immediate surroundings combined to shape the destiny of Jaffa as a place of great importance, commercial as well as military: a harbour to own which was, at all times, the fervent wish of those in power at Jerusalem, a landing-place essential alike to the peaceful traders and the conquerors from the sea, a naval base which opened to him who held it, the maritime road between Palestine and Egypt, and enabled him to dispense with the arduous march across the waterless wastes of the desert of Sinai, a fortress which no army moving either south or north through the Maritime Plain or up from it into the hills could afford to leave unreduced on its flanks or in its rear. And thus also it happens that the history of Jaffa, more than that of any other city of Palestine, reflects, in all its small and big misfortunes, the eventful history of the most frequently and most bitterly contested of countries.

It is probably towards the beginning of the fourth millennium B.C. that the maritime plain of Palestine was occupied by its first human inhabi-

tants of whom material traces have been found. This population was non-semitic, and had probably entered the country from beyond Jordan, several thousand years before. They were a short-set race of hunters, who had already learned the art of manufacturing flint tools and arms by shivering splinters off the natural stone, and of fashioning out of clay rough pottery for their domestic uses. For dwellings, they had first elected the innumerable caves which are to be found in the limestone hills that fringe the maritime plain along its eastern boundary. This plain was, at the time, divided into two parts of very different aspect and conditions of vegetation. Its northern part, known in Bible times as the plain of Sharon, limited in the south by a line corresponding roughly with the course of the river *Aujah* that flows into the sea about three miles north of Jaffa, was covered with dense forests of oak which were the haunt of wild animals such as rhinoceros, aurochs, bear and lion; to the south of this forest, however, the region later known as the plain of Philistia was open country, devoid of natural obstacles, and rich in herds of deer, antelopes, and wild goats. Having rested from his wanderings and found a permanent home on the fringe of the plain, the hunter set himself to tame and domesticate sheep, cows and goats, and to cultivate the soil. At the same time, he improved his technique of flint-working and learned to polish his stone implements and arms by artificial friction. But as, better fed and clothed, his numbers rapidly increased, new vacant lands and new dwellings had to be found. Where caves were not available, he selected rocky hills or spurs, and built on their highest point primitive huts of sun-dried clay

bricks, and, for greater safety, surrounded every such settlement with an earth rampart, which he soon learned to face with large stones gathered from the fields. Advancing westwards in search of new lands, along the southern fringe of the forest of Sharon, man at last found his progress arrested by the sea. Here, the hills of Jaffa offered him the ideal site for a permanent settlement: a lofty rock from which the view ranged far over the country, and enabled him to watch the approach of friend or enemy, good stone for building, two copious springs of sweet water, towards the land a belt of marshes that would keep enemies at a distance, an unlimited supply of food in the shape of game from the marshes and shellfish from along the shore. And thus the first community of men was settled at Jaffa. Soon, the easy sandy beach and the comparative smoothness of the natural harbour within the shelter of the reefs tempted the inhabitants to make closer acquaintance with the waters and the animal world which they contained. Timber could be obtained easily and in plenty from the forests north of the Aujah; a few caves in the seaward slopes of the hills furnished ready-made caches for the small primitive craft and for fishing tackle. The sea was found to be rich in fish of various kinds. The beach was littered, as it is to-day, with empty shells, pierced at the hinge, ready for stringing; these were first picked up as ornaments for personal use, but, later, they became an object of trade with the cities situated further inland. Piles of such shells have been unearthed at Gezer;¹ and, in the sand dunes of Jaffa, there have been found dumps

¹ R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Excavation of Gezer*, London, 1912, Vol. II, pp. 21 and 94.

of flint tools belonging to this or the immediately succeeding period.¹

The short fishing cruises of the beginning gradually led to more ambitious expeditions along the coast; and once it was recognised that the sea provided a much better means of communication along the coast than the land route, a regular coasting trade came into existence between Jaffa and the other maritime cities.

Towards the middle of the third millennium B.C., the peninsula of Arabia began to pour out over the adjoining countries the surplus of its rapidly-increasing population of Semitic nomads, who were, henceforth, to cover western Asia with intermittently recurring waves of invaders. The first of these invasions was that of the Phoenicians and Canaanites; the most notable of the subsequent ones were those of the Hebrews and, more recently, of the Moslem Arabs.

Spreading themselves over the maritime plain, the Phoenicians in Syria, and the Canaanites in Palestine, conquered the settlements of the first neolithic inhabitants. Together with the latter's possessions, the invaders took over their civilization; but, thanks to the energy and superior intellect and power of adaptation of the Semites, the country soon began to make rapid strides forward on the road of both cultural and material progress.

The tools and arms in use continued for some time to be made in polished flint; but, whereas under the previous inhabitants, each man used to make his own implements; in the Canaanite period

¹ Paul Karge, Rephaim. *Die vorgeschichtliche Kultur Palästinas und Phöniziens*, Paderborn, 1918, p. 179.

flint-knapping became a trade practised by certain specialized individuals. The flint factories of this time are easily to be identified by the heaps of waste chips lying in their neighbourhood. Such heaps of flint chips, found in the dunes near Jaffa,¹ indicate that the manufacture of flint tools and arms was one of the early industries of its Canaanite inhabitants.

Although no visible remains are known of the city at the period under review, the study of the other Canaanite fortresses which have been unearthed in the plain, completed by the scanty information about Jaffa contained in the Egyptian records, which we shall meet later on in the course of this work, enables us to draw what may be taken as a reasonably fair picture of the Jaffa of Canaanite times.

The town was composed of an irregular mass of small stone houses crowded together from the top of the hill downwards, without any preconceived plan, and without anything between them deserving the appellation of streets. It was surrounded by a powerful stone wall, built up of large unhewn boulders, the interstices being filled with small stone and loam mortar. In the early days of the city, the population still being few in numbers, the area contained within the walls was small, and the whole fortress occupied only the highest parts of the hill. Consequently, in case of a siege, the city was cut off from access to the springs; and, to obviate the dangers of possible lack of water, rock-cut water cisterns were provided under the houses. Later on, as the population increased, and the area

¹ Karge, *Rephaim*, p. 179.

of the city extended, the walls were shifted further and further down the hill, until a time was reached when they comprised both springs within their circle. Heavy towers, built at intervals of eighty or a hundred feet into the wall from which they projected at right angles, increased the defensive strength of the place. The thickness of the city wall, judging by analogy with other towns of this period, may have ranged from 9 to 12 feet, and its height from 30 to 36 feet, thus rendering an assault by portable ladders nearly impossible. The Canaanite fortresses had, as a rule, only one gateway, and this in itself had the appearance of a fortress. "It was composed of three large blocks of masonry, forming a re-entering face, considerably higher than the adjacent curtains, and pierced near the top with square openings furnished with mantlets, so as to give both a front and flank view of the assailants. The wooden doors in the receded face were covered with metal and raw hides, thus affording a protection against axe or fire. The building was strong enough not only to defy the bands of adventurers who roamed the country, but was able to resist for an indefinite time the operations of a regular siege."¹ Supposing the enemy had succeeded in taking these outer defences, they would find themselves confronted, on the summit of the hill, with a strongly built citadel which contained within its precincts the palace of the king (the city constituting a kingdom by itself) and the sanctuary of the chief deities: the Baal or Lord Dagon, patron of fishermen and farmers, and his consort Astarte (Ashtoreth), goddess of love and

¹ Gaston Maspéro, *The Struggle of the Nations*, London, 1910, p. 128.

fertility. The king's palace also was enclosed by a strong wall provided with massively-built gates, which could be forced only at the expense of fresh losses, unless cowardice or treachery facilitated the task of the besiegers. The "high place," or sanctuary, was composed of an open space with a sacred tree, a row of sacred standing stones, and an altar of sacrifice. The standing stones represented the "house of the god" (*beth-el*) and were worshipped by being anointed with oil. At one time, the sacrifice of infants, probably first-born males, became a gruesome feature of this primitive cult; similarly when new houses were built, the god was propitiated by the sacrifice of a child whose body, enclosed in a jar, was placed among the foundation-stones of the building. But, as civilization progressed, human sacrifice was replaced by a symbolic action consisting in placing into the foundations an oil lamp and two small dishes of pottery.

The burial customs are reminiscent of conditions in Egypt, at least where chiefs or the wealthier citizens are concerned. Their bodies were placed in caves sunk into the rock, together with the utensils of daily use which were theirs during their life-time: the dishes out of which they had taken their meals, the arms of the warrior, the jewels and mirror of the woman, the toys of the child; for the grave was the "house of eternity," in which the deceased was believed to continue leading a second life. The poorer people had probably to be contented with a large common grave outside the city walls, where their remains were apt to be disturbed and scattered when the development of the town claimed sites for new dwellings.

The chief occupations of the inhabitants were fishing and agriculture. The scarcity of rain on the one hand, and the abundance of water in the subsoil on the other, were bound to make the people of Jaffa experts in irrigation. Beautiful orchards of pomegranates and apples interspersed with date-palms, and well-cultivated vegetable gardens, sprang up in the immediate neighbourhood of the city; on land, situated too high to be irrigated, flourished the olive and the vine, the fig and the almond; wheat and barley, lentils and beans, were grown on the more distant fields, together with flax for linen. Several industries came early into existence, such as spinning and weaving and dyeing, the pressing of oil and the manufacture of wine. The acquisition of the potter's wheel resulted in considerable improvement in the shape and quality of clay products. The development of coastal shipping led to the opening of regular trade routes with Egypt and Cyprus, and even with the coasts of Asia Minor and the distant isles of the Ægean. With the wares of these countries the influence of Egyptian and Ægean art must have made itself felt in Jaffa as it did in the other cities of Palestine; whilst the importation of copper and bronze led to the gradual substitution of bronze for flint as the principal material employed in the manufacture of arms.¹

The constant intercourse with the seaports to the north, and the similarity of the mode of living resulting from their maritime pursuits must gradually have drawn between the population of Jaffa and that of the Phœnician towns closer bonds

¹ Karge, *Rephaim*, p. 212.

of relationship than those which united the former to the inland cities of Palestine; with the result that, in the course of time, Jaffa came to be regarded as a Phoenician city. Yet Phoenician, though being the common language of the people, was not the only one in use.

During the fourth and third milleniums B.C., Syria and a part of Palestine had been subject to the Sumerian and Babylonian empires; and this long period of political and military influence had resulted in establishing the Babylonian language and script as the official tongue of the country. Whether the Sumerian and Babylonian conquests of these early times extended as far south as Jaffa, we do not know; but several centuries after the disappearance of Babylonian rule in Palestine, we still find—in the Tel-el-Amarna letters of which we shall hear later on—the Chief of Jaffa using the Babylonian language and cuneiform script in his official correspondence with his suzerain, the king of Egypt.

CHAPTER II

JAFFA UNDER THE PHARAOHS (c. 2500—803 B.C.)

It was early in the third millennium B.C. that Egypt, for the first time, appears to have carried its arms across the peninsula of Sinai into Palestine; and we have documentary evidence showing that from the VIth Egyptian dynasty onwards, that is from about 2500 B.C., the Pharaohs no longer hesitated to transport their troops by sea from the mouths of the Nile to southern Syria.¹ It is more than probable that Jaffa, as the nearest safe harbour beyond the desert, became the chief naval base of the Egyptians in Palestine; but, notwithstanding the importance which they must have attached to their undisturbed possession or control of Jaffa, we do not find the town directly mentioned in the records of Egypt, previous to the reign of Pharaoh Thutmosis III, of the XVIIIth dynasty.

During the reign of Queen Hatshopsitu, daughter of Thutmosis II, the people of Syria and Palestine had succeeded in throwing off the Egyptian yoke. The rebellion had naturally started in the more distant regions; but by the time Thutmosis III (1501-1447 B.C.) succeeded his mother Hatshopsitu on the throne, Gaza was the only important town left to the Pharaoh in Asia. In the spring 1478 B.C., he first crossed the desert

¹ Gaston Maspéro, *The Struggle of the Nations*, London, 1910, p. 192.

of Sinai with his army; and in the course of seventeen campaigns which followed each other, in almost yearly succession, he completely re-established Egyptian rule over all the countries as far as the Euphrates. During the campaign of 1472 B.C. he started by securing the coast and occupying the harbours, including Jaffa; he then returned to Egypt for the first time by water, and hereafter the army was regularly transported to Palestine and Syria by the fleet¹. On his return he caused the names of all the 113 cities taken in the course of his campaign to be inscribed on one of the pylons of his great temple of Karnak; it is on this list that we find the earliest mention of the name of Jaffa, under the form of *Ya-pu* in hieroglyphic representation. That the inhabitants of the country at the time were generally wealthy, and lived in luxury, may be inferred from the fact that they are mentioned as having chariots of silver and gold, and that many gold and silver articles, inlaid tables, costly vases of copper and bronze, and other valuables are enumerated amongst the spoil taken by the Egyptians.²

It would appear that it is the story of the capture of Jaffa by Thusmosis III's general Thutyi during this campaign, that is preserved in the "Papyrus

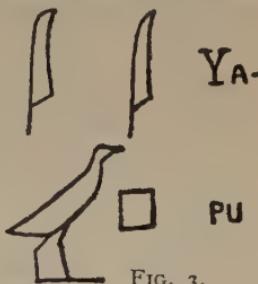


FIG. 3.
The Egyptian name of
Jaffa: *Ya-pu*.³

¹ J. H. Breasted, *Ancient Records of Egypt. Historical Documents.* Chicago, 1906, Vol. II, p. 167.

² W. Max Müller, *Die Palästinaliste Thutmosis III*, in *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft*, 1907, p. 21.

³ S. R. Driver, *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible*, London, 1909, p. 33.

Harris," a document written (or copied on some older original) about two hundred years after the event to which it refers.¹

Thutyi, having taken with him the great wand of the Pharaoh, which was believed to possess magic powers, starts towards Jaffa with a small force of chariots and 600 infantry, the latter carrying with them 400 large jars and a good supply of ropes and wooden stocks. On arriving before the town, Thutyi sends a message to the prince of Jaffa, informing him that he has thrown off his allegiance to Thutmosis III, that he has deserted the Egyptian army after having stolen his master's magic wand, and that he is ready to espouse the cause of Jaffa, and to take part in its defence. The prince, elated at the prospect of this new and valuable addition to his forces, invites Thutyi into the city, but is prudent enough not to allow the Egyptian soldiers to enter the town as well. After having spent an hour with Thutyi over copious libations of the excellent wine of the region, the prince expresses his wish to see the magic wand. The crafty Egyptian replies that the wand is hidden in one of the jars containing the fodder destined for his horses, and that, if the prince will allow the Egyptian soldiers to enter the town in order to feed their animals, the wand will be found. The prince agrees, and the Egyptian force is allowed to penetrate into the town. The Pharaoh's wand is brought, and Thutyi uses it to strike a terrible blow at the head of his host, who falls to

¹ Translated by Goodwin in *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archaeology III*, 340-348, and by Maspéro: *Etudes Egyptologiques I*, 53-56; see also Maspéro, *Les Contes Populaires de l'Egypte Ancienne*, Paris, 1889, pp. 149-160, and W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Tales*, Second Series, London, 1913, pp. 2-12.

the ground, deprived of consciousness. He then packs 200 of his soldiers into 200 of the jars, fills the other 200 jars with the ropes and the wooden stocks, closes all the jars with his seal, and causes them to be loaded on to the back of his remaining soldiers whom he orders to carry these vessels into the citadel, and, on arrival there, to free their comrades enclosed in them, and to bind the garrison by means of the ropes and stocks. The strange procession arrives before the gate of the citadel, where the herald of the murdered prince is made to proclaim that the Egyptians have been defeated and that their pack train has been captured, together with Thutyi himself. The queen of Jaffa, deceived by this false news of her husband's victory, orders the gate to be thrown open : the Egyptians, once admitted, make themselves masters of the citadel and the town; and Thutyi triumphant despatches a messenger to Pharaoh, informing him that the city of Jaffa is taken with all its chief inhabitants, and inviting him to send an escort to carry the prisoners to Egypt, where they are destined to join the other male and female slaves of the temple of Amon-Ra, king of the gods.

Egypt, in conquering Palestine, had no other object in view than to protect herself against the danger of a new semitic invasion like that of the Hyksos, and at the same time to increase her revenue. Accordingly, as long as the native princes of Palestine acknowledged Pharaoh as their lord, and continued to pay their tribute regularly, they were left free to intrigue and to quarrel among themselves as they liked. The suzerain power was represented by Egyptian officers stationed in the principal towns and supported by small detach-

ments of Egyptian chariots and infantry; the factors on which the Pharaohs depended chiefly for the maintenance of their rule were the rivalry of the local princes and the intimidating effect produced by the severity displayed during their campaigns and by the cruelty of the punishment inflicted on rebel prisoners. At the same time the practice was followed always to keep a number of young men from the princely houses of the various subject countries as hostages in Egypt, where they were brought up in the manners and ideas of Egypt, in prevision of the time when the Pharaoh's pleasure would appoint them rulers in their native country, either on the death of the reigning prince or kinglet, or on his deposition as punishment for rebellion or other misdeed.

A flood of interesting light is thrown on conditions in Palestine at this period by the collection of documents which have become famous under the name of the "Tel-el-Amarna letters."

When the Pharaoh Amenhotep IV (1383-1365 B.C.) had abandoned the Amon-cult of his fathers for that of the sun-god Aten as source of all life, power and force in the Universe, he changed his name to Akhenaten and built himself a new capital, as a centre of worship for his new religion. The new city was situated about 170 miles south of Cairo, on the site occupied to-day by the village of Tel-el-Amarna. In 1887, some fellahs, who were digging for plunder among the ruins and were carrying away the bricks of Akhenaten's buildings in order to use them for their modern houses, came upon a buried chamber, containing several hundred clay tablets covered with Babylonian cuneiform script. On examination, these

tablets proved to be a part of the State archives of Amenhotep IV (Akhenaten) and his immediate predecessor, Amenhotep III, and to consist mostly of reports and letters addressed to these two kings by Egyptian governors and native princes in Palestine and Syria, as well as by various foreign sovereigns having relations with Egypt. We learn from this correspondence that the Egyptians were rapidly losing their hold upon their Asiatic possessions. Most of the towns were either intriguing against, or in open war with, each other, whilst the Hittites in the north and a people called the Habiri (no doubt a branch of the Hebrews) in the east, had crossed the frontiers and were advancing into the country, in many places in alliance with the local inhabitants, and everywhere driving before them the Egyptian garrisons which were much too small to offer any effective resistance. In some of the reports the writers describe the dangers to which they are exposed, and send urgent and sometimes moving appeals to Pharaoh to send them assistance; in others, some of the princes bring complaints and charges of disloyalty against their colleagues, or protest emphatically their own fidelity. Incidentally the letters show that, notwithstanding the political chaos prevailing in the country, a very active maritime trade was going on between the markets of the Nile and the harbours of Palestine, the Egyptian hold being much stronger and more lasting on the towns of the coast than on those further inland.

Jaffa (*Ya-pu*) is mentioned on two occasions in the Tel-el-Amarna correspondence: once in a letter from Abd-hiba, prince of Jerusalem, and once in a letter from Yabitiri, prince of Jaffa and Gaza.

Abd-hiba, writing at a time when Jaffa was evidently in danger of being attacked by some enemy, reports to Pharaoh that he has sent a number of his own men down to Jaffa to strengthen the garrison of this city, but complains that they have been captured by one Biia, son of Gulat, who is keeping them prisoners.¹

Yabitiri was one of those men of noble family who had spent their youth at the court of Egypt. On his return to Palestine, he had been appointed prince of Jaffa and Gaza, and, as such, he enjoyed the assistance—or was placed under the supervision—of an Egyptian officer in command of a small force. Someone having apparently accused Yabitiri of attempting rebellion, the latter now writes to Pharaoh in an endeavour to justify himself, as follows :—

“ To my lord, the king, my gods, my sun . . .
 Yabitiri, your servant, the dust of your feet. At the feet of my lord, the king, my gods, my sun, seven and seven times, I fall. Behold further, I am a faithful servant of my lord, the king. I look here and I look there, and there is no light, but I look to my lord, the king, and there is light. And (though) a brick move away from under its coping, I will not remove from under the feet of my lord, the king. Let my lord, the king, ask Yanhamu, his officer. When I was (still) young, he carried me to Egypt, and I served my lord, the king, and stood at my lord, the king’s gate. Let my lord, the king, ask his officer if I do (not) guard the gate of Azzati² and

¹ See Hugo Winckler, *The Tel-el-Amarna Letters*, 1896, p. 303.

² Winckler, *op. cit.*, p. 303.

³ Gaza.

the gate of Yaphu. I am also with the troops of my lord, the king. Wherever they march, I am with them, and so I am with them now. The yoke of my lord, the king, is upon my neck, and I am bearing it."

Whilst giving us but little direct information about Jaffa, the Tel-el-Amarna letters do show us that, early in the fourteenth century B.C., Jaffa was an important fortress, seat of an Egyptian garrison, and ruled by a native prince acting as governor for Egypt. That its undisturbed possession was looked upon as a matter of vital importance to Pharaoh is proved by the fact that the prince of Jerusalem, himself threatened by the Habiri, does not hesitate to deprive himself of a part of his own men in order to strengthen the garrison of the sea port. The circumstance, moreover, that it is precisely Jerusalem that is called upon to furnish the additional levies required for Jaffa, is evidence to the close solidarity of interest which united the principal town of the Judean mountains and the chief harbour of southern Palestine in the fourteenth century B.C., as at present.

The appeals of the princes and governors of Palestine remained unheeded. Neither Akhenaten, occupied exclusively with his religious reforms, nor his successors Tutankh-amen and Ai, made any serious effort to save their possessions in Asia; within less than a generation the Egyptian garrisons had been driven out, or had capitulated, and the Habiri were the masters in the country. But, mixing and intermarrying with the inhabitants of the country, they soon disappeared from the scene as a separate ethnic group. The inland cities and villages remained Canaanitish, and the

cities of the coast, including Jaffa, Phœnician; and once again, Palestine was divided into about as many warring factions as there were important towns.

The Pharaoh Seti I (1313-1292 B.C.), in his first years, made an expedition into Syria. After having crossed the peninsula of Sinai, he turned towards the Dead Sea and marched north through the hills of Judea and Galilee until he reached the Lebanon; he then returned home to Egypt by the Way of the Sea, receiving, as he passed through their cities, the homage of the Phœnicians. Jaffa not being mentioned among the towns taken, it may be inferred that this city had probably remained under Egyptian control, even through the time of the Habiri conquest.

On the country generally, the hold of Egypt remained but weak, until Rameses II (1292-1225 B.C.), after four Asiatic campaigns directed chiefly against the Hittites in northern Syria, concluded peace with them by the treaty of 1271, by which Palestine was again recognized as an Egyptian province. Order was now re-established throughout the country, and for about half a century it was allowed to develop in peace, with the result that agriculture and commerce came to prosper as probably never before. The Egyptian galleys thronged the Phœnician ports, while those of Phoenicia visited Egypt.¹ Jaffa, as the port nearest to Egypt, must of necessity have had its share of this revival of prosperity; its commerce flourished, its artisans were distinguished for their skill, its gardens were famous for their beauty and the

¹ Gaston Maspéro, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 407.

quality of their fruit. Of all this, we have evidence in the Egyptian *Papyrus Anastasi I*,¹ usually known as "The Travels of a Mohar," a collection of letters composed by a professor of literature at the court of Rameses II; the letters are addressed to the author's friend Nekhtsotep, a "king's messenger," who had just returned from a tour through Syria and Palestine, and they give a satirical account of his adventures in those countries. The Mohar is described returning from the land of the Hittites via Kadesh on the Orontes and across the Lebanon to Byblos, Beyrut, Tyre and Sidon, and thence across Galilee and the oak forests of the plain of Sharon to Jaffa. "Thou comest into Joppa; thou findest the garden in full bloom in its time. Thou penetrateth in order to eat. Thou findest that the maid who keeps the garden is fair. She does whatever thou wantest of her. Thou art recognized, thou art brought to trial, and owest thy preservation to being a Mohar. Thy girdle of the finest stuff thou payest as the price of a worthless rag. Thou sleepest every evening with a rug of fur over thee. Thou sleepest deep sleep, for thou art weary. A thief steals thy sword and thy bow from thy side; thy quiver and thy armour are cut off in the darkness,² thy pair of horses run away . . . Thy chariot is broken to pieces . . . The iron-workers enter into the smithy; they rummage in the workshops of the carpenters; the handicraftsmen and saddlers are at hand; they do

¹ A. H. Sayce, *Patriarchal Palestine*, London, 1895, pp. 212-24; also A. Jeremias, *Das alte Testament im Lichte des alten Orients*, Leipsiz, 1906, pp. 302-5.

² The quiver was fastened by means of straps to the body of the chariot; the "armour" is the armour plating of the chariot body, to which it was also fastened by straps.

whatever thou requirest. They put together thy chariot; they put aside the parts of it that are made useless; thy spokes are fashioned quite new; thy wheels are put on; they put the straps on the axles and on the hinder part; they splice thy yoke, they put on the box of thy chariot; the workmen in iron forge the (?); they put the ring that is wanting on thy whip, they replace the lashes upon it."

We see here the beautiful gardens of Jaffa, its workmen skilled in repairing chariots and in the working of wood, metal and leather. The working of iron is already a well-established industry; and the name *parzal* used by the Egyptian scribe for designing this new metal is not an Egyptian word, but the term *barzel* בָּרֶזֶל used in the Bible. We see that, at Jaffa, the Mohar finds himself in a civilized and friendly country, where the inhabitants obey the word of the royal messenger. But we also learn that the thieves of Jaffa were as impudent in the days of Rameses II as are their modern successors, and that all the prestige of Pharaoh's envoy was not sufficient to protect him from having his arms stolen from his side during his sleep, and from having his horses and his valuable iron "armour" cut from the chariot which he had left, unguarded, outside the garden gate.

In 1205 B.C. the death of the last descendant of Rameses II brought the Nineteenth dynasty to an end, and the struggles between rival claimants to the throne plunged Egypt into a short period of anarchy, the result of which was, *inter alia*, a temporary relaxation of Egyptian rule in Palestine. It was during this troubled time that the Hebrew tribes, who had escaped from Egypt a generation or so previously, crossed the Jordan under the

leadership of Joshua and appeared in Western Palestine. Thanks to the absence of Egyptian opposition, the tribe of Dan found it comparatively easy to occupy Jaffa and the surrounding district, which had been allotted to them at the distribution of the territories to be conquered.¹ But to settled populations, nothing is more hateful than nomad rule, and the Danites must have found it a hard task to keep the city in their own power. When the prophetess Deborah called the Hebrew tribes to arms against the Northern Canaanites under Sisera, the men of Dan, absorbed by their own local problems and the insecurity of their own position, failed to answer the summons, thus incurring the well-known reproach of the prophetess : " And Dan, why did he remain by the ships ? "² But their hold over Jaffa was to be only a very ephemeral one ; for hardly had they begun to adapt themselves to the commercial and seafaring habits of the native inhabitants, than the latter revolted and, together with their kinsmen in the villages, drove the Danites out and compelled them to seek refuge in the valleys of the Shephelah, the region of low hills which separates the Maritime Plain from the Mountains of Judea.³

Almost at the same moment the Philistines appeared under the walls of Jaffa.

In the course of the fourteenth and thirteenth centuries B.C., a succession of migratory movements had driven large masses of European peoples south, towards Greece and Crete, and south-east towards the centre of Asia Minor. The native

¹ Joshua XIX, 46. Cp. Eusebius' *Onomasticon*, Leipzig, 1904, p. *
111; " *Joppe oppidum Palaestinae maritimum in tribu Dan.*"

² Judges V, 17.

³ Judges I, 34.

populations of these countries, unable to resist the invaders, were forced to emigrate and turned their face towards Syria. They took the road, a mixed host composed of several tribes, known as the Pulasati, Zakkalah, Shagalasha, Danauna, and Uashasha, the Pulasati (Philistines) holding the chief place in the confederation. Sea-rovers by profession, their fleet loaded with their more bulky possessions sailed south along the coast; whilst the main force, accompanied by the women and children travelling in ox-drawn square waggons with solid wheels, advanced by land along the sea-shore, taking care to remain in sight of the ships. The advance was slow; but, destroying the Hittite empire on their passage, these "peoples of the Sea," as the Egyptians called them, had already conquered Syria and the seaports and coastal plain of Palestine, and were preparing themselves to invade Egypt, when Rameses III (1198-1167 B.C.), in the eighth year of his reign, assembled his forces and, having sent his fleet north along the Palestinian coast, crossed his Asiatic frontier. Advancing by forced marches, he encountered the main land forces of the invaders on the borders of the Shephelah, where, after a stubbornly-contested campaign, he succeeded in completely routing them. The survivors withdrew hastily to the northwest, in the direction of the sea, in order to receive the support of their fleet, but the king followed them step by step. He rejoined his ships, probably at Jaffa, and made straight for the enemy. He found the latter encamped near Atlith, and, in a brilliant double battle, he destroyed their fleet, and entirely defeated the remnants of their army.¹ But, struck

¹ Maspéro, *The Struggle of the Nations*, pp. 446-447.

by the high degree of culture and splendid military organization of the vanquished, and considering probably that the war had decimated the native population of the country, Rameses determined to convert his captives into vassals who would play the part of an outpost of Egyptian power in Asia. Accordingly, he planted what remained of the defeated tribes along the coast of Palestine and in the Maritime Plain : the Philistines were settled in the southern part of the country between the Egyptian frontier and Jaffa, whilst the forest region and the coast further north as far as Mount Carmel were assigned to the Zakkalah. Jaffa itself, which formed the point of separation between the two territories, is nowhere mentioned as having been attributed to either of them. It may, therefore, be inferred that it received an Egyptian garrison and was made directly dependent on Egypt, as a post of observation from which Pharaoh's representative was enabled at all times to keep a close watch over the doings of his new " allies," and also as a base where, in case of emergency, troops could be landed at short notice to deal with any attempts at rebellion.

The long period of peace which followed the settlement of the Philistines resulted in considerable progress in the state of cultivation of the country and in the wealth of its inhabitants. Greater wealth led to an increased demand for foreign wares, which now began to be imported from Cyprus, Crete and the Ægean countries on a much larger scale than had hitherto been the case. Jaffa, either through its own citizens or through the Philistine and Phœnician traders who frequented its market, had an important share in this profitable

trade. The relations with the Ægean world, coupled with the direct contact with the Philistine settlers, had for result that architecture and decorative art, and even religion itself, became influenced by Greek motives and ideas. The chief deity of the Philistines in their homelands had been the goddess Britomartis; in their new surroundings they transferred the legends and ceremonies connected with her worship to the Phoenician-Canaanitish Ashtoreth, whose name was hellenized into Atergatis or Derketo. Her form was half that of a woman and half that of a fish. She was the patroness of fishermen, and a prominent feature of her cult was the keeping of sacred fish in a special pond situated near her sanctuary. The existence of such a pond and sanctuary has been established at Ascalon, but so far no proofs have been found that they also existed at Jaffa. We know, however, from Pliny¹ that Derketo was worshipped at Jaffa; and as to the sacred pond, it is probable that it can still be seen there to this day, although silted up in the course of the many centuries that have passed since then.

At a distance of only a few hundred yards from the foot of the main hill of Jaffa, and to the east of it, there is, in the midst of lands covered with orange-groves, a depression into which every winter the rain drains from the surrounding gardens, converting it into a shallow but quite extensive pond. It is called in Arabic the *bassat-Yafa* (=the swamp of Jaffa). Whereas the soil of the surrounding lands is sandy and of a light nature, that of the *bassak* is, for a depth of about two metres, heavy loam;

¹ *Hist. nat.*, V, xiii, 69.

this loam can have no other origin than the deposits brought with them by the surface waters which must have drained for centuries into a basin that existed there. And, in fact, some forty years ago, the brother of the present owner, digging there in order to drain the site, found the remains of strong old walls extending to about two metres below the present level of the ground; even a piece of iron, looking like a fragment of a ship's anchor, was found. Local tradition sees in this *bassah* the supposed harbour of king Solomon; but it is highly probable that we have here the silted-up sacred pond of the goddess Derketo of Jaffa.¹

Together with the worship of Ashtoreth, the Philistines took over that of her consort Dagon. The name of the village *Beit-Dejan* (Hebr. *Beth-Dagon*, "house of Dagon"), situated a few miles east of Jaffa, clearly points to the existence there, at some early period, of a sanctuary of this god.

It is probably to the native legends of the Philistines, in their Cretan and Carian homes, that we must look for the origin of the various sea-monster tales which centre in Jaffa and its neighbourhood:² the legend of Perseus, the Lycian sun-hero, and Andromeda; the story of the prophet Jonah; the miracle of the Temple gates of Nicanor (see p. 62); and also the tale which underlies the mediæval legend of St. George and the Dragon, localized in the neighbouring town of Ludd.

The story of Perseus and Andromeda is one of the most widely-known of all the legends of

¹ F. M. Abel, *Le Littoral Palestinien et ses Ports*, Revue Biblique, 1914, p. 583.

² R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Philistines, Their History and Civilisation*, London, 1914, p. 98.

Greece.¹ It formed the subject of two lost tragedies of Sophocles and Euripides, and has been retold and preserved for us by Ovid in his *Metamorphoses* (IV, 622). Kepheus was king of the Ethiopians, and his queen was Cassiopeia. The latter having boasted that their daughter Andromeda's beauty equalled that of the sea-born Nereids, the father of these goddesses, Nereus, complained to Poseidon, who sent upon the land an inundation and a sea-monster which destroyed man and beast. Enquiry from the oracle of Ammon elicited the reply that relief would not be found until Andromeda was fastened to a rock near the shore, as a sacrifice to the monster. Thus was the maiden chained to the rocks of Jaffa, where Perseus found her, as he was returning on his winged horse Pegasus from slaying the serpent-haired Gorgon Medusa. He killed the monster, set Andromeda free, married her, and took her with him to Tiryns in Argos, where she became the ancestress of the family of the Perseidae. After her death, Athena placed her amongst the constellations in the northern sky, near Perseus and Cassiopeia. Pliny (c. A.D. 23-79) reports that in his days the people of Jaffa would still point out the traces of Andromeda's chains on the rocks to which she had been bound,² and that, during the games given at Rome in the year 58 B.C. by Marcus Scaurus, who had been Pompey's governor in Palestine, the bones of a sea-monster were shown, which he had brought from Jaffa, and "which measured forty feet in length and were greater in the span of the ribs than that of the Indian elephant, while the backbone was a foot and a half in

¹ See Kingsley's *Heroes*: Perseus.

² Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, lib. V, cap. 13.

diameter".¹ Cassiopeia herself has been worshipped at Jaffa as late as the Hellenistic period; it has been suggested² that her name is derived from the Hebrew *kesef* (silver), and that by "the silvery one" the moon-goddess was meant. The Latin geographer Pomponius Mela, writing in about A.D. 43, mentions the existence in Jaffa of altars inscribed with the names of Kepheus and his brother Phineus.³ It may thus be said that it was the Philistines who laid the foundations of Hellenistic culture at Jaffa.

This fact, as well as the circumstance that the scene of the exploit of Perseus, in a story of Carian origin, became for ever localized at Jaffa points to a prolonged Philistine occupation of the town. The actual moment which saw the beginning of this occupation is a matter for conjecture; but it may be assumed as fairly probable that its beginning coincided with the rise of Philistine independence when they, as a result of the lax rule of Rameses III's successors, freed themselves of the control of Egypt towards the end of the twelfth or the beginning of the eleventh century B.C. It also coincides with the time which saw two revolutions of the greatest importance in the culture of the people of Palestine: the general spread of the use of iron instead of bronze, and the substitution of the Phoenician alphabet for the cumbrous cuneiforms of Babylonia.

The Philistines did not long retain their racial purity and character. The daily contact and intermarriage with the surrounding race led them to

¹ Pliny, *Hist. nat.*, lib. IX., cap. 5.

² C. R. Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, London, 1896, p. 36.

³ P. Mela, lib. I., cap. II.

adopt the latter's language, manners and religion;¹ but, whereas in the inland cities, a century or two sufficed to effect their almost complete semitization, in the sea-ports this process was strongly counteracted and retarded by the sustained action of the Ægean influences resulting from the commercial relations with the Greek world. At the same time, however, there appears to have been a rapid falling off in the Philistines' maritime prowess², with the result that the Phœnicians must have regained their one-time commercial supremacy in Jaffa and the other coast towns of southern Palestine. Then, as time went on, even the military strength, on land, of the Philistines began to give way under the constant attacks of the Hebrews, until the repeated victories of David left their power completely and irretrievably broken.

As long as the Philistines were being kept occupied by their struggle with the Hebrews, the Pharaohs, troubled by civil wars and revolutions at home, need have no fear about the safety of their Asiatic frontier. But when, about the year 1000 B.C., the power of the Philistines had at last been definitely destroyed, whilst a revived Assyria had begun again to show a desire for westward expansion, Egypt realized that the hour had struck for her to make friends with the Hebrew kingdom and to entrust to this new power the task of protecting her northern boundary. Accordingly, between the two countries, an alliance was concluded, which was sealed, after the fashion of the time, by the marriage to king Solomon, of an Egyptian princess to whom the fortress of Gezer, conquered

¹ Gaston Maspéro, *The Struggle of the Nations*, p. 638.
² *Id.*, *ibid.*, p. 700.

by an Egyptian army, was given for dowry;¹ at the same time, the Hebrew king was either placed in possession, or allowed the use, of the port of Ezion-Geber (Akabah), and probably also of Jaffa. It was to the latter place that Hiram, king of Tyre, had the cedars and firs floated which were destined for the construction of the Temple: . . . “we will bring it to thee in floats by sea at Jaffa, and thou shalt carry it up to Jerusalem”.² We may assume that this was not the only occasion on which Solomon made use of the port of Jaffa. It is probably from here that he shipped the twenty thousand measures of wheat and the oil and the wine which he sent to Hiram every year;³ and it may be taken for granted that the royal merchant, who was associated with the Phœnicians in his commercial expeditions to Ophir, did not neglect to exploit, to the fullest extent, the advantages which were to be derived from the possession, or use, of the port of Jaffa. Of the extraordinary economic prosperity which marked Solomon’s reign, our city must have profited in a considerable degree. The great value of the acquisition of Gezer by Solomon is not satisfactorily explained by its military importance only, since, at the time, the strength of the Philistines was broken, whilst the isolated Canaanite community which inhabited the city, certainly did not harbour aggressive plans against the Hebrew State. But Gezer dominated the road from Jaffa to Jerusalem; it probably interfered with the safety of the caravans plying between the sea-port and Solomon’s capital, and levied tolls on them. In

¹ 1 Kings ix, 16.

² 2 Chronicles ii, 15.

³ 1 Kings v, 25.

the hands of the Hebrew king, Gezer meant increased safety of commerce and increased revenues. That the yearly income derived from this source amounted to a large sum is evidenced by the very fact that it constituted the dowry of Pharaoh's daughter; but the importance of this revenue presupposes that there was a considerable movement of trade going on between Jerusalem and Jaffa, and that Jaffa, therefore, was a busy port at the time.

The division of the kingdom, in, or about, 950 B.C., into two mutually hostile parts, destroyed the hopes which Egypt had founded on a strong Hebrew state as a bulwark for the protection of her frontier, and compelled her to re-establish her own rule in the Maritime Plain. The death of Solomon, followed within four or five years by the extinction of the Pharoanic dynasty with which he was related by marriage, furnished the Lybian mercenary Sheshonk, who had seized the throne in Egypt, a ready excuse to consider the treaty of alliance as having come to an end. Four years after the schism, he invaded Palestine and Syria and, according to the records inscribed by him on the south wall of the temple of Ammon at Karnak, he captured a hundred and fifty-six cities and districts. The fact that Jaffa is not mentioned among these may be taken as confirming the view that this city had remained under Egyptian authority even during Solomon's reign, although the Hebrew king was allowed to use it as a port of transit.

For more than two centuries after Sheshonk's campaign, Egyptian suzerainty over the Maritime Plain, although only weakly enforced, remained unchallenged, and Jaffa no doubt continued under Egyptian rule.

CHAPTER III

JAFFA UNDER THE ASSYRIANS, BABYLONIANS AND PERSIANS (803—332 B.C.)

About 803 B.C., the king of Assyria Hadad-Nirari III invaded Palestine. His Annals mention the Philistines among the states which he conquered, without giving details;¹ but it is hardly to be supposed that so important a position and so wealthy a town as Jaffa, was spared the visit of the Assyrian armies, the more so as the Annals distinctly state that Philisita, "as far as the great sea of the setting sun," submitted and paid tribute.² However, notwithstanding this "submission," in the beginning there was no permanent Assyrian occupation; for the Assyrians, unlike Egypt, did not attempt to organize their conquests in a homogeneous empire: they only raided for tribute, and afterwards kept the peace, so that the commerce of Babylonia should not suffer.³

About three-quarters of a century later, the princes of Syria and Palestine combined to attack the kingdom of Judah, which had become a vassal of Assyria; the confederation comprised Rezin of Damascus, Pekah of Samaria, the chiefs of the

¹ R. A. Stewart Macalister, *The Philistines, Their History and Civilisation*, p. 63.

² H. R. Hall, *The Ancient History of the Near East*, 4th Edition, London, 1919, p. 456.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 457.

Philistines, and the princes of Edom. Ahaz, the king of Judah, called on Assyria for help; Tiglath-Pileser III at once answered the appeal and appeared in Syria in 734. With the special purpose of sacking Gaza, he marched down the sea-coast to Philistia, evidently receiving the submission of the maritime cities on his way. Hanun of Gaza, the paramount chief of the Philistines, fled to Egypt; but he afterwards returned and submitted to the Assyrian rule. Assyrian governors were appointed in the principal towns; and nearly half the population was carried away into captivity, their place being taken by colonists from Babylonia and by foreign captives from Armenia and other conquered countries.

In 720, two years after the destruction of Samaria by Shalmanezer IV, the latter's successor Sargon having been defeated in battle by the Elamites, Hanun and his former confederates, overestimating the effect of this reverse on the strength of Assyria, and being actively supported by Shabaka of Egypt, revolted and refused to pay the tribute. Sargon immediately came down upon Palestine, inflicted a crushing defeat on the Philistines and the Egyptians at Raphia (Rafah) on the Egyptian border, captured Hanun, destroyed Gaza, and compelled all the cities to resume the payment of the tribute.

But in 715 B.C., Shabaka stirred up a new intrigue and induced Azuri, the Philistine king of Ashdod, to revolt. Sargon again overran the country and forced it into submission.

In 701, no doubt once more under the inspiration of Egypt, the king of Sidon revolted and imposed his authority over all Phœnicia, whilst Judah under

Hezekiah, and the Philistines under the leadership of Zidka king of Ashkelon, joined in the rebellion. Sennacherib, who had succeeded his father Sargon on the throne of Assyria, took the road with an army of nearly 200,000 men. He marched up the Euphrates, then across northern Syria to the shores of the Mediterranean, and from here southwards along the coast. Phoenicia was easily subdued, and so were most of the towns of southern Palestine which, with Ashdod at their head, surrendered without fighting. Only a few of them resisted fiercely; but, one after the other, they were besieged, taken and plundered: "In the course of my expedition, I besieged *Bet-Daganna* (Beth Dagon), *Iappu* (Jaffa), *Banai-Barka* (Benei-Berak), *Azuri* (Yazur), the towns of Zidka, which had not promptly submitted to me; I plundered them and dragged booty away from them."¹ Then he took to the mountains of Judah, destroyed "forty-six walled towns and their villages" and carried away 200,000 inhabitants. He accepted from Hezekiah 300 talents of silver and 30 talents of gold, as the price for leaving Jerusalem unmolested; but, shortly afterwards, whilst engaged in besieging Lachish in preparation of an attack on Egypt, he thought that it was better not to leave in his rear, unsubdued, a fortress like Jerusalem, and he sent a strong detachment under his three principal generals to call on Hezekiah to surrender. Tirhaka of Egypt advanced to the relief of Jerusalem; but, whilst Sennacherib was preparing himself to meet this new opponent, a plague broke out in the Assyrian camp, destroying 185,000 men, whereupon Senna-

¹ Inscription of Sennacherib on the hexagonal clay prism known as the "Taylor Cylinder," in the British Museum.

cherib hurried home with the remnants of his force.¹ Sennacherib's inscription informs us clearly that, about the year 700 B.C., Jaffa and the neighbouring places of Benei-Berak, Yazur, and Beth-Dagon were Philistine cities and belonged to Zidka, king of Ashkelon. But as the name of this chief shows, the Philistines themselves were already strongly semiticized.

Under Sennacherib's successors, Palestine, and Jaffa with it, continued to be subject to Assyria.

The last great Assyrian monarch Ashurbanipal died in 626, leaving his empire exhausted by his many wars, and unable to resist the separatist tendencies of the subject nations who, one after the other, revolted and gained their independence.

Between 628 and 626 B.C., the barbarian Scyths poured over Western Syria in resistless swarms, penetrating into Palestine and ravaging the maritime plain down to the borders of Egypt; the terror which they inspired is well echoed by Jeremiah: "they lay hold on bow and spear, they are cruel and have no mercy, their voice roareth like the sea and they ride on horses."² When the Scyths had withdrawn, after having thoroughly impoverished and weakened the western and northern parts of the Assyrian empire, Babylonia declared her independence, and Nabopolassar established there a separate monarchy in 609. At the same time the Medes threatened the northern frontier of Assyria. This was the moment Pharaoh Necho chose for an attempt to re-establish Egypt's power in Asia. Crossing the frontier in 608 and marching north by the Way of the Sea, he easily

¹ II Kings xviii, 17-37. II Kings xix.

² Jeremiah vi, 23.

destroyed at Megiddo Assyria's faithful vassal Josiah of Judah who had tried to arrest his progress, and seized the whole of Palestine and Syria. But the Babylonian empire which, after the fall of Nineveh, in 606, had stepped into the inheritance of Assyria, now put forward its claims to the countries of the Mediterranean coast. In 604, at the battle of Carchemish on the Euphrates, Necho was defeated by Nabopolassar's energetic son Nebuchadrezzar. The Egyptian army fled back to the Nile, closely pursued by the victor. After four years of Egyptian overlordship, Palestine now saw itself placed under Babylonian rule.

Even now Egypt did not take her defeat as final. The Pharaoh Uahabtra (the Hophra of the Bible and Apries of the Greeks) occupied the Maritime Plain of Palestine and Phœnicia in 589; and, instigated by him, Zedekiah of Judah, revolted against Babylonia. Nebuchadrezzar answered the double challenge; in 587, he overran the country, and whilst Apries retreated hurriedly into Egypt, Palestine was re-conquered and Zedekiah and a large part of the Jewish nation were carried into captivity to Babylonia.

In 538 B.C., Babylon was captured by Cyrus, and the whole Babylonian empire passed under the rule of the Persians. Tyre and Sidon accepted the new allegiance without difficulty;¹ we may take it that the other coast towns, including Jaffa, acted similarly, the more so as the Pharaoh Amasis, an old and not very warlike man, made no attempt to dispute with Cyrus the Babylonian inheritance. In 536, Cyrus gave the Jews permission to return to their homeland and to rebuild the city and Temple

¹ Hall, op. cit., p. 560.

of Jerusalem, for which purpose they were authorized to cut timber in the cedar forests of Lebanon. "They gave . . . meat, and drink, and oil, unto the Sidonians and unto the Tyrians, to bring cedar trees from Lebanon to the sea at Jaffa, according to the grant that they had of Cyrus, king of Persia."¹

In 525, Jaffa witnessed a sight the like it had not seen since the days of the Philistine and Zakkalah invasion: Cyrus's son and successor, Cambyses, marched along the Palestine coast to Egypt, his army being supported by the combined fleets of Phoenicia, Cyprus, Ionia, and Eolis,² which were slowly sailing southward, keeping pace with the land forces, and, no doubt calling at Jaffa on their way. Egypt was powerless before this double attack from the land and from the sea, and was easily conquered.

The Phœnicians, thanks to their navy, had given Persia the mastery of the seas; to gain their permanent loyalty a heavy price deserved to be paid, and, accordingly, every favour was showered on them. It is well-known that what had originally driven the Phœnicians to take to the life of the sea, was the poverty of their country in arable lands and her consequent inability to produce sufficient grain to feed her population; it was for wheat and oil and wine that Phœnicia sold her timber to Solomon and Ezra, and for the enormous sum of 120 talents of gold, Hiram of Tyre had bought from Solomon a large tract of land around the village of Cabul, in the fertile plain of Acco.³ To attach the Phœnicians

¹ Ezra iii, 7.

² George Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient World*, London, 1867, Vol. IV, p. 385.

³ I Kings ix, 11-14.

to the Persian empire by strong bonds of gratitude and interest, nothing was better calculated than to satisfy their desire for new arable land. An inscription engraved on the sarcophagus of a king, Eshmunazar of Sidon, unearthed there in 1855, and dating probably from about 400 B.C.,¹ records that the "Lord of Kings" (a title commonly used of the Persian monarchs) placed the Sidonians in possession of the plain of Sharon with the two cities of Dor (Tanturah) and Jaffa at its northern and southern end: ". . . The Lord of kings gave to us Dor and Yafah, the glorious corn-lands which are in the fields of Sharon, in accordance with the great things which I did; and we added them to the borders of the land, that they might belong to the Sidonians for ever."²

It is, no doubt, to this period of Sidonian overlordship over the city, that we must ascribe the building at Jaffa, by one Ben Abdas, of a temple in honour of the chief Phœnician deity, Eshmun, as is recorded in a Phœnician inscription on a stone discovered at Jaffa in 1892.³ The figure 4 shows the text and its transcription into Hebrew characters, and the following is the translation proposed by Conder, who says that the character of the writing appears to be of the fourth or third century B.C.:

LINE 1.—A worshipper, the son of a worshipper,
has very firmly founded the temple of Joppa,
being prospered by Eshmun; (being) there

¹ Gustav Hölscher, *Palästina in der persischen und hellenistischen Zeit*, Berlin, 1903, p. 15.

² P. S. Handcock, *The Latest Light on Bible Lands*, London, 1913, pp. 280-281.

³ C. R. Conder, *The Prayer of Ben Abdas on the Dedication of the Temple of Joppa*, P.E.F.Q.S., 1892, p. 171 ff.

Lord-Ben Abdas.¹ Thou wilt hear with acceptance, and thou wilt save Ben Abdas—a servant for ever, Abd-Eshmun.²

LINE 2.—A sinner towards Baal, he returns drawing back. Thou shalt protect the worshipper as a son, O my Baal. Have mercy on me, O Baal Gad, (who am) the son of Abd-Eshmun, a faithful servant, the son of Abd-Abset. The wanderer having rested—the son of Abd-Eshmun—cut a stone.

LINE 3.—He carved an inscription. Have mercy, O Lord, on a servant, and save the son of Abd-Eshmun. . . . And he erected a high place (as) an obedient worshipper.

Whether Ben-Abdas' father Abd-Eshmun was in any way related to the king Eshmunazar to whom Jaffa was given by a king of Persia, we may never be able to say; the only thing we can say is that, if a Phœnician governor of Jaffa built there a temple to the principal god of Phœnicia, this event must probably have taken place immediately after the establishment of Phœnician suzerainty over the city. The inscription is evidence of the worship, at Jaffa, not only of Eshmun, but also of the lesser Phœnician deity of Baal Gad, and of the Egyptian

¹ Conder, having read "the wandered having rested" (line 2), concludes that either a journey for colonization was intended, or that the worshipper was a merchant whose travels were over, as he had become rich, and now desired to propitiate the gods. I think that the identity of Ben Abdas is clearly stated in the first line, where it is said that the temple was founded at Jaffa "being there Lord Ben Abdas," that is to say, when Ben Abdas was the chief, probably the Phœnician governor, of the town. It would have been surprising indeed that the donor of so important a monument should have omitted to describe his own social status.

² Conder translates Abd Eshmun (servant of Ashmun); I prefer to keep the original *Abd* untranslated, as Abd-Eshmun evidently is a common theophoric name. The same remark applies to the name Abd-Abset, in line 2.

JAFFA UNDER THE ASSYRIANS

41

PIGENICIAN INSCRIPTION FOUND NEAR JAFFA (FROM A SQUEEZE).

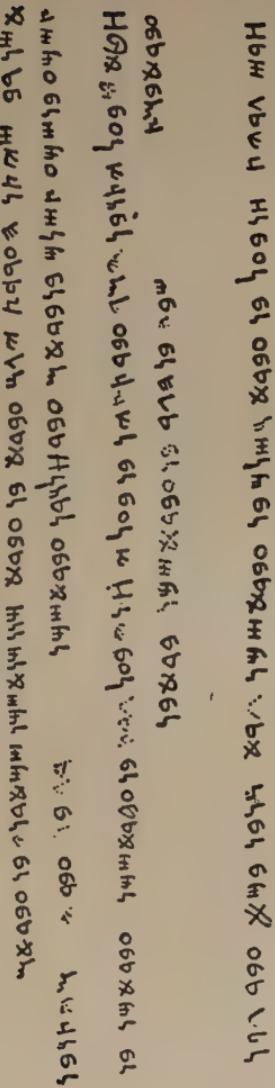


FIGURE 4

*By courtesy of the
Palestine Exploration Fund*

goddess Bast; it also shows that the temple referred to comprised a *bamah* or "high place" enclosed in an *arcah* or "temple court."¹

The Sidonian suzerainty over Jaffa was not destined to last very long; indeed, in the *Periplus* ascribed to the Greek historian Scylax of Caryanda, but dating in reality from about 350 B.C., Jaffa is represented as independent of the great cities in the north.² It is safe to assume that the cessation of the Phoenician overlordship over Jaffa dates from the destruction of Sidon in 351 Egypt having, in 406 or 405, thrown off the Persian yoke, the Phoenician cities, headed by Sidon, had on two occasions sided with Egypt and denounced their allegiance to Persia. The first time, in 362, the movement collapsed in consequence of the defection of the Pharaoh; but in 351, the Sidonians, together with a corps of Greek mercenaries sent from Egypt, defeated a Persian army. Thereupon the king of Persia, Artaxerxes Ochus, laid siege to Sidon, when the inhabitants, finding that their main defences had been betrayed into the enemy's hand by their own king, set fire to their houses and burnt the city to the ground.³ The Sidonian state was broken up, and it is, no doubt, at this moment that Jaffa was again detached from it and returned to

¹ Conder translates the words **חטא שבעל יהובן** by "a sinner towards Baal, he returns back." I believe that in **בעל יהובן** we have the Phoenician equivalent of the Hebrew **בעל תשובה** Babylonian Talmud, *Succ.* 53a), the accepted term for a "penitent, one sorry for sin." The correct meaning would thus be "a sinner, who is (now) a penitent." This gives additional interest to Conder's remark that "the writer appears to rely on the piety of his father, rather than on his own, as he had been a sinner, or, perhaps, a worshipper of other gods."

² F. M. Abel, *Le Littoral Palestinien et ses Ports*, in *Revue Biblique*, 1914, p. 580.

³ George Rawlinson, *Phœnicia*, pp. 205-209.

the direct administration of Persia. Egypt, too, was conquered by Ochus, and for 16 years Jaffa together with all Palestine enjoyed a period of perfect peace.

CHAPTER IV

JAFFA UNDER THE GREEKS AND THE JEWS (332—66 B.C.)

In 332 B.C., Alexander the Macedonian conquered Palestine; as Tyre fell in August, and Gaza after a two months' siege in November,¹ Jaffa, which is not recorded as having offered any resistance, must have been occupied in September, probably by the fleet commanded by Hephaestion, whom Alexander had ordered to follow him from Tyre southwards along the coast.² Alexander, in his campaigns, was not moved only by the lust for adventure; he was also inspired with the ambition to benefit the world by the dissemination of Greek art and culture. At Jaffa, the previous trade relations with the Ægean islands and Greece, as well as the influence of the Philistines, had prepared the ground for the favourable acceptance of the Macedonian régime and its hellenizing policy, for the support of both of which a considerable number of Greek colonists were settled in and around the town.³ The name of Yapho was now changed to Joppe, and was made to derive from that of Jope, a daughter of Æolus, the god of

¹ Graetz, *Volkstümliche Geschichte der Juden*, 1888, Vol. I., p. 341.

² Quintus Curtius Rufus: *De Rebus gestis Alexandri Magni*, lib. IV, cap. 5.

³ Charles Foster Kent: *Biblical Geography and History*, London, 1911, p. 208.

winds, and the wife of Kepheus, who built the city, and was its first ruler.¹

It was Alexander who established the first mint at Jaffa; for no earlier coins are known to have been struck there than those issued during his reign. In the collections of Vienna, Berlin, Paris, and Copenhagen, there are silver tetradrachms of Alexander, bearing the initials **IΩΠ**,² whilst on a coin belonging to the British Museum, the name of Joppa is represented by the monogram **ΙΡ**.³ It was the Jaffa mint that supplied Jerusalem and southern Palestine generally, with money.

After Alexander's death in 323, his generals immediately began to fight each other over the division of the empire, and, in these struggles, Jaffa became one of the chief objects of contention. As the result of a first successful battle, Ptolemy I Lagi, who had established himself in Egypt, occupied Palestine in 318, and put a garrison into Jaffa. In 315, his rival, Antigonus, besieged the town, captured it, incorporated its garrison by force into his own army, and put a garrison of his own in its place.⁴ Three years later this general's son Demetrios was defeated near Gaza, and Ptolemy re-occupied the country; but, after a few months,

¹ *Geographical Dictionary of Stephen of Byzantium*, quoted by E. Schürer: *Geschichte des Jüdischen Volkes im Zeitalter Jesu Christi*, Leipzig, 1901, Vol. II, p. 55.

² Frederic M. Madden, *History of the Jewish Coinage and the Money in the Old and New Testament*, London, 1864, p. 23.

³ George Francis Hill, *Catalogue of the Greek Coins of Palestine* (in the British Museum), London, 1914, p. xxiv.

⁴ Diodorus XIX, 58-59, quoted by Schürer, *op. cit.*, p. 129, and by B. Niese, *Geschichte der Griechischen und Makedonischen Staaten*, Gotha, 1893, Vol. I, p. 276.

Antigonus' army having joined that of Demetrios, Ptolemy, in doubt as to his power to resist them, withdrew to Egypt, razing during his retreat the fortifications of Jerusalem and the maritime cities, including Jaffa.¹ The fate of Palestine remained undecided until 301 B.C., when at Ipsos, in Asia Minor, the allied generals Ptolemy, Lysimachos, Cassander, and Seleukos defeated Antigonus, who was killed during the battle. The four victorious generals now divided the empire amongst themselves, Ptolemy receiving Egypt and the neighbouring countries, and Seleukos almost the whole remaining part of the empire in Asia, including Mesopotamia and Persia unto the frontiers of India. Jaffa once again became subject to Egypt, under whose strong rule peace prevailed upon land and on sea, and an era of great prosperity set in for the country and especially for the maritime cities. The Ptolemies continued Alexander's policy of Hellenization, greatly aided in this by the grant, to the towns, of a very wide measure of self-government on the lines of the Greek *polis*, the effect of which was greatly to weaken, if not to destroy, the bonds of common interest between the inhabitants of the cities concerned and their kinsmen around them. Thus the last vestiges of the Phœnician and semiticized Philistine civilizations disappeared, and Jaffa became one of the strongholds of Hellenism in Palestine. But apart from the knowledge that coins were struck there bearing the monogram of the town and dates of the reigns of Ptolemy II and Ptolemy III, we possess no details as to the history of Jaffa during

¹ Diordus XIX, 93, quoted by Schürer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 129; see also Graetz, *Volkstümliche Geschichte der Juden*, Vol. I, p. 345.

the Ptolemaic period. The coins in question were all issued during a period of twenty years, from the year 25 of Ptolemy II (261 B.C.) to the year 6 of Ptolemy III (241 B.C.). The name of Joppa is

usually represented by the monogram  , but

on one coin it takes the form of  . Some of the coins of Ptolemy II are of bronze, and bear the image of a harp, but no mint-name; these coins have nevertheless been attributed to Jaffa, the harp being looked upon as a symbol of the cult of Perseus.¹

After about a century of uninterrupted rule, the Ptolemies saw their position in Palestine challenged again by the descendants of Seleukos. Antiochus III, the Great (223-187) invaded Palestine in 218, and occupied the maritime plain as far as Gaza; he was beaten by Ptolemy at Rafah in the winter 218-217, and forced to evacuate the country. But, twenty years later, he renewed his attempt, and this time he was more successful; having completely routed the Egyptian army in a battle near Paneion (the modern Banias) at the foot of Mount Hermon, he definitely annexed Palestine to the Seleucid kingdom. His successor was Seleukos IV, Philopator (187-176), who in turn was succeeded by Antiochus IV, Epiphanes (176-164), the monarch whose cruelty and anti-Jewish fanaticism brought about the revolt of the Maccabees and the establishment of Jewish independence. He was a great lover of Greek culture, and used every means to spread it throughout his dominions. His ruthless

¹ G. F. Hill, *op. cit.*, p. xxiv.

attempts to force it upon the Jews among whom there was one party favourably disposed towards it, whilst the other—the majority—fiercely resisted it, led to violent strife between the two sections. Returning by sea from an expedition to Egypt, he determined to punish the anti-Greek Jews; he landed at Jaffa where, as the champion of Hellenism, he was sure to be welcome, and marched to Jerusalem, plundered the Temple, and slew many inhabitants. Soon after, he set out systematically to suppress the Jewish religion, and, in 168 B.C. he sent one of his generals, Apollonius, to enforce the worship of the Olympian Zeus and to put to death all those who persisted in remaining true to the Jewish faith. In December, 168, sacrifices to Zeus were offered in the Temple upon a heathen altar erected over the great altar of burnt-offerings. This provocation proved too much even for many of the Hellenizers, and when an edict was issued, ordering the erection of heathen altars in every town of Palestine, and appointing officers to punish those who would disobey the edict, the revolt broke out under the leadership of Mattathias, an aged priest of Modein (*Khurbet Midieh*), and his five sons. In 166, Mattathias died, having committed to his sons the task of continuing the struggle and appointing one of them, Judas, surnamed Maccabeus (from the Hebrew *makkebeth*—the hammer) as leader in the holy war.

In a series of brilliant engagements following closely upon each other, Judas overthrew the Syrian generals, Appollonius, Seron, Gorgias, and the regent, Lysias, and restored the temple-worship in 165; three years later, Lysias had to guarantee their religious freedom to the Jews.

The Jews of Jaffa, who were few in numbers among a big majority of hellenized heathens and of Greeks, had not taken part in the revolt. Nevertheless, the other inhabitants of the town determined to vent on them the spite they felt at the sight of the triumph of Judas Maccabeus and his followers. On the occasion of some popular festival, "the men of Joppa prayed the Jews that dwelt among them to go, with their wives and children, into the boats which they had prepared, as though they had meant no hurt; but when they were gone forth into the deep, they drowned no less than two hundred of them."¹ Judas, on hearing of this atrocity, came down upon Jaffa with his army. The city was then surrounded by walls, but these did not extend to the shore, and the harbour was, therefore, situated outside the defences. Finding the gates of the city closed and the walls too strong to be taken by assault, Judas contended himself with raiding the harbour, inflicting heavy damage on the commerce of the town; he "burned the haven by night, and set the boats on fire, and those that flew hither he slew."²

The achievement of religious freedom could not now satisfy any more the intense nationalist spirit which the military successes of the Jews had revived; it now became clear that the struggle would not cease as long as they had not gained political independence. In 161 Judas defeated the Syrian general Nicanor at Adasa (*Khurbet Adaseh*), about five miles north of Jerusalem; but a few weeks later, accepting battle with only eight hundred men against a new and numerous Syrian

¹ II Maccabees, xii, 3, 4.

² II Maccabees, xii, 5, 6.

army under Bacchides at Eleasa (*Khurbet Ilasa*), half-way between Ludd and Jerusalem, he was killed, and his small army routed.

He was succeeded, in the leadership of the rebellion, by his brother Jonathan, who, if not so brilliant a soldier, was a clever politician who knew how to exploit the internal troubles which were agitating the Syrian kingdom since the death of Antiochus the Great. In 162, Demetrios I Soter had succeeded Antiochus V Eupator (164-162) on the throne. A young man from Smyrna, Alexander Balas, of low birth, but with a remarkable resemblance to Antiochus Eupator, announced himself as a son of Antiochus Epiphanes, and laid claim to the throne. Rome and Egypt having recognized him, he landed at Acco, to begin the struggle for the possession of the kingdom. In order to win the support of the Jews, Alexander gave Jonathan, in 153 B.C., the title of high priest with the right to wear a golden crown, and the control, not only over Judea, but also of the maritime plain and the coast; it now remained only for Jonathan to make these concessions valid by actual occupation. Demetrios II Nicator, having followed Demetrios I Soter, on the throne in 150 B.C., his general Apollonius Daos occupied the maritime region in 148 and, having taken up his position at Yamnia (*Yebneh*), sent Jonathan a pompous challenge to meet him in the plain. Jonathan accepted the challenge, and, together with his brother Simon, he came down from Jerusalem and began by laying siege to Jaffa which was Apollonius' principal base of operations. The people of Jaffa, heartened by the presence of a Syrian garrison, first refused to surrender, and shut

their gates; but, when they saw Jonathan actually preparing himself to storm the walls, they were frightened and opened the gates to him.¹ Apollonius, on receiving the news that Jaffa had capitulated, appeared before the town at the head of a force of cavalry and infantry, with the intention of drawing Jonathan out into the open plain, where his cavalry, with the help of another body of horse placed in ambush in a position from which they could attack the Jews in the rear, would be able to deal effectually with Jonathan's force which consisted only of infantry. The Jewish leader first seems to have walked into the trap, but, when he saw himself attacked on both sides, he formed his troops into a square and contented himself with remaining on the defensive. Towards the end of the day, however, as the enemy had become exhausted by their repeated and fruitless efforts to break through his lines, Jonathan counter-attacked and completely routed the Syrians.

In 145, Ptolemy VI Philometer, came up from Egypt with a large army and fleet, marching and sailing north along the coast. Alexander Balas had ordered all the towns to give Ptolemy, who was his father-in-law, the best welcome; the latter, accordingly, entered without opposition all the fortified cities of the coast, but took care to leave his own garrisons in each of them. Having in this manner occupied Jaffa, he there received the visit of Jonathan who came down in great pomp from Jerusalem. The chronicler records that they spent a night at Jaffa, and that they left on the next day and proceeded together until the river Eleutherus

¹ I Maccabees X, 69-76; also Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, ch iv, 4.

(the modern Nahr-el-Kebir) in northen Syria.¹ Here they parted, Jonathan returning home to Jerusalem, having received from the king "handsome presents and all marks of honour."² Once all the coastal fortresses were in his possession and manned by his own garrisons, Ptolemy turned against his son-in-law, attacked him near Antioch, and defeated him; but during the battle Ptolemy himself was mortally wounded, and died a few days later. Alexander Balas fled to Arabia and was there murdered; Demetrius II became king in his stead, and the Egyptian garrisons of the maritime cities were once more replaced by those of Syria.

Shortly afterwards one Tryphon, acting as regent for Antiochus, a son of Alexander Balas, appeared in Syria and won Jonathan's allegiance by granting him control of the whole coast, from Tyre to the Egyptian frontier. In 143, on receiving the news that the inhabitants of Jaffa, unwilling to accept his rule, conspired to deliver the town to the generals of Demetrius II, Jonathan sent his brother Simon, who occupied the town on behalf of Tryphon and placed a strong garrison in it.³ But the following year, Tryphon having treacherously murdered Jonathan who was staying with him at Acco as his guest, Simon denounced his allegiance to Tryphon, and annexed Jaffa definitely as part of the Jewish state; he rebuilt and strengthened the fortifications of the city, carried out extensive improvements in the harbour,⁴ and compelled its Greek inhabitants to emigrate,⁵ "for

¹ I Maccabees xi, 1-6.

² Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, ch. iv, 5.

³ I Maccabees xii, 33, 34.

⁴ James Stevenson Riggs, *A History of the Jewish People during the Maccabean and Roman Periods*, London, 1913, p. 89.

⁵ I Maccabees xiii, 11; also Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, ch. vi, 4.

he was afraid that they would deliver up the city to Tryphon.” Thus was Jaffa forcibly converted into a Jewish town, and remained so for two centuries, until the destruction of the Jewish state by the Romans. Together with Jaffa, Simon captured Gezer, which he also fortified, and from which he was enabled to ensure the safety of the trade route between Jerusalem and the coast. This easy and safe connection with the sea, and the possession of the harbour and fortress of Jaffa, gave the Jews access to the western world : “and, in addition to all his other glory, he (Simon) took Joppa for an haven, and made an entrance to the isles of the sea.”¹ It also furnished the Jewish state with a very important source of revenue, for the import and export duties which had been instituted by the Syrian kings, were henceforth levied for the benefit of the Jewish treasury.² The exultation of the Jews over this acquisition was, therefore, quite justified ; the great value which they attributed to it may be estimated from the fact that, when Simon erected at Modein his famous monument to the memory of his heroic father and of his brothers who had fallen for the cause of freedom, he had the effigies of ships carved into the high columns by which the monument was surrounded.³

The Syrian king Antiochus VII, Sidetes (164-129) was not disposed to acquiesce, without adequate compensation, in the loss of the revenue from Jaffa and Gezer. In 139, he sent one of his nobles, Athenobius, to Simon with the following message : “ Ye withhold Joppe and Gazara (Gezer),

¹ I Maccabees xiv, 5.

² Graetz, *Geschichte der Juden*, 1905, Vol. III, i, p. 55.

³ I Maccabees xiii, 27-30.

with the tower that is in Jerusalem, which are cities of my realm. Now, therefore, deliver the cities which you have taken, and the tributes of the places, or else give me for them five hundred talents of silver : and for the harm that ye have done and the tribute of the cities, other five hundred talents ; if not, we will come and fight against you."¹ Simon refused to agree to these demands, but offered to send one hundred talents for the cities of Jaffa and Gezer. Antiochus at once sent his general Kendebaios with a large army into Judea ; they were put to flight by Simon's sons, Judas and John, in the plains south-east of Jaffa, and about 1,000 Syrians were killed.²

In 135, Simon was murdered by one of his sons-in-law, and was succeeded by John Hyrcanus (135-106). The following year, Antiochus Sidetes, anxious to avenge the defeat of Kendebaios and to recover at the same time the lost revenues, invaded Judea, captured Jaffa and Gezer, and besieged Jerusalem. John Hyrcanus had to pay a heavy ransom for his capital and was also forced to agree to the payment of a yearly tribute for the possession of Jaffa and Gezer ;³ the payment of this tribute was, however, discontinued after a few years with the consent of Antiochus, who intended to invade Parthia and bought Hyrcanus' support by recognizing his independence.

But, in 113, the then king of Syria, Antiochus IX, Kyzikenos, invaded Judea, seized Jaffa and Gezer, and levied, for his own account, the duties on goods passing through these towns. John

¹ I Maccabees xv, 28, 30, 31.

² I Maccabees xvi, 1-10.

³ Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, ch. ix, 3.

Hyrcanus appealed to Rome and sent thither a deputation to lodge a complaint with the Senate against the Syrian king. The Romans, who had already for some time been watching developments in Syria, and were waiting for a pretext to interfere there, received the deputation well. The Senate, having listened to their complaints and wishes, passed a decree to the effect that Antiochus "should do no injury to the Jews, the allies of the Romans; and that the fortresses and havens and territory, and whatever else he had taken from them, should be restored; and that it should be lawful for them to export their goods out of their own havens: and that no king or people should have leave to export any goods either from the country of Judea or from their havens, without paying customs, except Ptolemy, the king of Alexandria, because he is our ally and friend; and that according to their desire, the garrison that was in Joppa should be expelled."¹ The word of Rome was obeyed, and the Syrian garrison evacuated Jaffa, which returned under the rule of Hyrcanus.

His successor, Alexander Jannaeus (106-78), who, in 104, assumed the title of king, continued to enjoy the undisputed possession of Jaffa; certain of the coins struck by him bear the image of a ship's anchor, a symbol of Judea's maritime power.² During his reign, Antiochus XII Dionysios, on his way to carry war into Arabia, appeared in northern Palestine showing intentions to march south through the maritime plain. Alexander Jannaeus, fearing the ravages of Antiochus' army if allowed to pass through his

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV, ch. x, 22.
² Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 66-67.

territory, "dug a deep trench from Chebarzaba (*Kefar Saba*), which is now called Antipatris, to the sea near Joppa, where alone an army could be brought against him. He also raised a wall one hundred and fifty furlongs in length, and erected on it wooden towers and curtains, and waited for the coming of Antiochus, who burnt all those works, and made his army pass by that way into Arabia."¹ Alexander's wife Alexandra, who succeeded him, also impressed the image of the anchor on her coins, a fact which shows that she continued in the unchallenged possession of the port of Jaffa.²

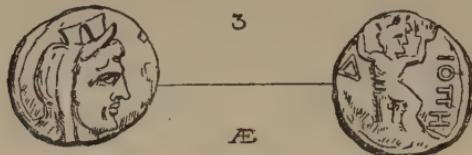
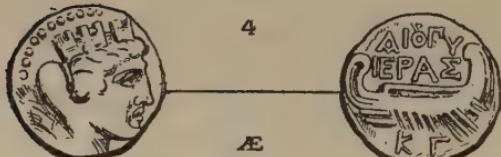
¹ Josephus, *Antiquities* XIII, ch. xv, 1.
² Madden, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

CHAPTER V

JAFFA UNDER THE ROMANS AND THE BYZANTINES (66 B.C.—A.D. 636)

In 66 B.C., Rome, which had already conquered Egypt and a part of Asia Minor, determined to extend her boundaries in the East and sent Pompey to subdue the kingdoms of Pontus and Armenia. When he had accomplished this mission, he advanced southward, annexed Syria, and occupied Damascus. Here he was called upon to act as arbitrator between Alexander Jannaeus' sons, Aristobulos and Hyrcanus, who had been set up as rival claimants to the throne of Judea by the two warring parties of the Sadducees and Pharisees. Pompey reserved his decision until he would arrive at Jerusalem. He entered Palestine with his army, made Aristobulos a prisoner, and besieged Jerusalem where the latter's followers entrenched themselves on the Temple hill. Aided by Hyrcanus and by the latter's chief supporter Antipater, governor of Idumea, Pompey took the city. Hyrcanus was confirmed in the position of high priest, but without political power, whilst Aristobulos was carried away to Rome to walk as a captive behind Pompey's chariot in his triumphal procession. Judea was deprived of the conquests made by the Maccabees, and, together with Galilee and Idumea, was constituted into a sub-province of

the Roman Empire. The coastal region was separated from the rest of the country; Jaffa as well as the other Hellenized cities were declared to be "free towns," with a wide measure of self-government, and were formed into a second sub-province which was called Phoenicia. Of this autonomous Jaffa, coins have been found bearing the image of Andromeda, with veiled face, seated on a rock and lifting her hands up to heaven in an attitude of supplication (fig. 5), sometimes also bearing in

FIGURE 5¹FIGURE 6²

addition the representation of a galley, and the monogram **ΙΩΝ** (fig. 6). The two sub-provinces were attached again to the province of Syria, and were placed under the administration of one Marcus Scaurus,³ the same who, according to Pliny, in the course of the games which were given at

¹ F. de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1874, Plate IX, No. 3.

² F. de Saulcy, *Numismatique de la Terre Sainte*, Paris, 1874, Plate IX, No. 4.

³ Josephus, *Jewish War*, I, ch. 7, 7.

Rome in 58 B.C., exhibited there the bones of Andromeda's sea-monster, which he had brought from Jaffa (see page 28).

When Pompey was defeated by Julius Cæsar at the battle of Pharsalia in 49 B.C., Antipater, who had become the strong man of Judea, allied himself with the cause of the victor, and gave him valuable military and political assistance at the most critical time of his Egyptian campaign. Cæsar never forgot these services; and, when he had returned to Rome as Consul, he issued in 47 B.C. a decree by which, in addition to various other benefits conferred upon them, Jaffa was restored to the Jews, and Antipater was made procurator of Judea. “Caius Cæsar, imperator the second time, has ordained, that all the country of the Jews, except Joppa, pay tribute for the city of Jerusalem every year except the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, because therein they neither receive the fruit of their trees, nor do they sow their lands; and that they pay as their tribute in Sidon in the second year, the fourth part of what was sown: and besides this, they are to pay the same tithes to Hyrcanus and his sons, as they paid to their forefathers. . . . It is also our pleasure that the city of Joppa, which the Jews had originally, when they made a league of friendship with the Romans, shall belong to them, as it formerly did; and that Hyrcanus, the son of Alexander, and his sons, shall have as tribute for that city from those that occupy the land, for the country and for what they export every year to Sidon, twenty thousand six hundred and seventy-five modii every year, except the seventh year, which they call the sabbatical year, wherein they neither plow nor take the fruit off their trees. . . .”¹

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV, ch. x, 6.

The plains of Palestine were then exporting large quantities of grain to Sidon, partly for consumption in the Lebanon district, but principally for shipment to Italy through the intermediary of the Sidonian shipping merchants; in this export of grain, the region of Jaffa and the plain of Sharon had a considerable share. At the same time, both Syria and Palestine had to pay to Rome yearly tributes in the form of grain which was to be delivered to the Roman tax-officials at Sidon. The yearly tribute to be paid by Judea was fixed by Cæsar at one-fourth of the quantity of grain sown the previous year, but no tribute was due for the seventh (sabbatical year), during which no crops were sown. Jaffa, as a special favour, was excused from paying either its share in the tribute to Rome or the customary tithe due to the high priest at Jerusalem; but it had to pay to Hyrcanus and his descendants a land tax and an export duty on all grain shipped to Sidon, both these taxes being compounded into one fixed yearly tribute of 20,675 measures of wheat.

Cæsar was assassinated in 44 B.C., and so was Antipater one year later. Mark Antony, who was then Rome's representative in the East, immediately appointed Antipater's sons, Herod and Phasael, civic rulers in Judea. But in 40 B.C., Palestine was invaded by the Parthians who slew Phasael, and placed Antigonus, the son of Aristobulos, on the Judean throne. Herod, who had escaped to Egypt and from there to Rome, was given by the Senate the title of "King of the Jews"; and in 39 B.C. he landed at Acco (Ptolemais) where he began to collect an army and to prepare himself for the conquest of his kingdom.

The Romans had already driven out the Parthians. Having first established his rule over Galilee, Herod turned his attention southward to Judea; but here Jaffa was in his way. The people there had taken the part of Aristobulos, the descendant of the Maccabees, and, burning with religious and national fervour, they were violently hostile to the "Idumean slave" and Hellenizer Herod. Although on his way to Jerusalem Herod could have easily avoided Jaffa, he could not afford to leave such an important fortress unsubdued in his rear; he laid siege to the city and forced it to surrender, in 37 B.C.¹ But the people of Jaffa had bowed only to superior physical force, and Herod never succeeded in gaining their friendship. No wonder, therefore, that in return Herod himself showed little favour to Jaffa; and when, in later years, he decided to provide his kingdom with a large and properly equipped harbour, he did not hesitate to set up a rival to Jaffa by creating an entirely new port at Straton's Tower, which he called Cæsarea.

A few months after the fall of Jaffa, Jerusalem was captured with the help of a Roman army under C. Sosius, who deposed Antigonus, and installed Herod in his stead as king of the Jews.

Three years later, Antony, who was then at Laodicea in northern Syria, engaged in making preparations for a campaign against the Parthians, was joined there by his mistress, the famous Cleopatra, queen of Egypt. The latter, who was a bitter personal enemy of Herod, tried to persuade Antony to depose him and to make over to herself the government of Palestine. Herod succeeded in averting this danger; but Antony, who could not

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities* XIV, ch. xv, 1.

entirely deny Cleopatra, placed her in possession of the region of Jericho, famous for its palm-trees and balsams, and of all the maritime cities to the south of Tyre as far as Egypt, as a private source of revenue. Jaffa was one of these cities, and it remained in the possession of the Egyptian queen until after her fall, and that of her lover, Augustus gave it back to Herod in 30 B.C., together with the other places which Antony had torn from his kingdom.¹

It is no doubt to the time under review, that we must ascribe the event which furnished the subject of the Talmudic legend of the "miracle of Nicanor's doors," of which Jaffa was said to have been the scene. When Herod was completing the building of the Temple, a certain Nicanor, a member of the wealthy Jewish community of Alexandria, presented the sanctuary with a double door of massive Corinthian bronze, 50 cubits high and 40 wide, covered with thick plates of gold and silver, beautifully worked. The weight of the two leaves of the door was such, that twenty men at least were required to turn them upon their hinges. The legend says that, as Nicanor was bringing the two leaves of the door from Alexandria to Palestine by a ship, a furious storm arose. The mariners, in order to relieve their vessel, threw one of the leaves into the sea; they were about to deal similarly with the second, when Nicanor made them desist from this purpose by crying out that if they threw it into the sea, they must throw him down as well. Shortly afterwards the storm abated, and

¹ Josephus, *Antiquities XV*, ch. vii, 3; also Schürer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 131.

the ship was able to continue her way in peace, whilst Nicanor did not cease to lament the loss of the precious half-door. But when they arrived in the harbour of Jaffa, behold! the lost door-leaf appeared from out of the waters, and the waves washed it ashore.¹

On Herod's death in 4 B.C., Augustus ratified his will and conferred the maritime cities of Cæsarea and Jaffa on Herod's son Archelaus, whose sovereignty over these ports is illustrated by the effigy of a galley on his coins,² whereas his predecessors had signified their dominion over Jaffa by a ship's anchor. Archelaus' cruelties and repeated violations of the Jewish laws caused the Jews to complain to Augustus, who at last, in A.D. 6 deposed him, and banished him to Gaul, where he died. His private property was confiscated, and Judea was annexed to the Roman province of Syria;³ Jaffa came thus under the jurisdiction of Cæsarea, where the procurators in charge of the administration of the province had their headquarters.

Some of the Jewish inhabitants of Jaffa were amongst the first adepts of Christianity. A member of the small Christian community that existed there, by name Tabitha, or Dorcas, "a woman full of good works and alms deeds which she did," fell sick and died. The Christians of Jaffa, hearing that Peter, the Apostle, was at Lydda (Ludd), sent two men there to ask him to come to their city. He came, "and kneeled down, and prayed; and turning to the body, he said, Tabitha,

¹ *Tosefta, Yoma*, ch. ii, 4; also *Jerusalem Talmud, Yoma*, ch. iii, 17.

² Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 92-94.

³ Josephus, *Antiquities XVII*, ch. xiii, 2, 4.

arise. And she opened her eyes; and when she saw Peter, she sat up. And he gave her his hand, and raised her up. . . . And it became known throughout all Joppa."¹ The expression "throughout all Joppa" seems to indicate that Jaffa did not then consist only of the closely-crowded hill-city within the walls, but comprised also, as is the case to-day, a considerable number of isolated dwellings dispersed over a comparatively large area outside the walls. This would imply the existence of extensive gardens, and thus confirms indirectly the importance and wealth of the town at the time, and the high state of cultivation of the lands around it. About a mile to the east of Jaffa proper, there is still shown the rock-tomb in which Tabitha is said to have been buried. It consists of a rock-cut chamber, the entrance to which is by a descent of six or seven stone steps; the chamber is paved with mosaics, and on three sides sepulchral niches have been cut into the walls. The Russian priests, who are the owners of the site, have transformed the tomb into a chapel covered with a domed roof; and not far from it they have built a church dedicated to Tabitha. In modern times the Greeks of Jaffa used, once every year, to visit Tabitha's tomb and worship there, so that it had become a kind of sanctuary. The Moslems, however, who, almost in every place where there is a Christian sanctuary, have established a rival Moslem shrine in the immediate neighbourhood, have also in this case created near the "tomb of Tabitha" a "*makâm* of Sheikh Abu-Kebîr."²

¹ *Acts ix, 36-42.*² See Schick, in P.E.F.Q.S., 1894, p. 15.

Peter remained a few days at Jaffa, where he stayed "with one Simon a tanner, whose house is by the seaside."¹ Cornelius, an Italian centurion of the Roman garrison of Cæsarea, as a result of a vision which he had had, sent two of his servants under the escort of a soldier, to Jaffa to ask the apostle to come to Cæsarea. The following day, about midday, whilst the messengers were on their way and approaching Jaffa, Peter, who had gone on the roof of the house to pray, "fell into a trance," and had the vision of the sheet filled with all kinds of animals, clean and unclean, and heard the voice that told him to receive the Gentiles into the Christian Church. He was still pondering over the meaning of his vision, when Cornelius' messengers arrived and requested him to go with them. "And on the morrow he arose and went forth with them" on the road which led along the shore to Cæsarea, to gain there the first Gentile convert to Christianity.² When, in 1654, the present Latin hospice of Jaffa was founded, it was built on the place which tradition then believed to be that of the tanner's house; to-day, however, the site is pointed out in a small mosque called the *Jam'a eth-Thabieh* (Mosque of the Bastion), from the bastion which stood in its neighbourhood at the time when the city was still surrounded by fortified walls.

The administrative separation of Jaffa from Jerusalem, and its reunion with the other maritime cities, weakening as it did the influence of the Jewish element in the town, probably led to a new influx of Greeks and Hellenized Jews and to the revival of some of the pagan cults of which Jaffa

¹ *Acts x, 6.*

² *Acts x, 1-23.*

had been the seat previously to the Maccabean conquest; for we have already seen that towards the middle of the first century A.D. mention is made of the existence, there, of altars to Kepheus and his brother Phineus.¹ Still, the large majority of the population remained Jewish, and when the revolt of the Jews against Rome broke out in A.D. 65, Jaffa was one of the principal centres of the insurrection.

The taking of the census as a basis for the poll-tax, which was looked upon by the people as a symbol of slavery; the surveying of the fields and the establishment of a land-tax, which the Jews resented as being contrary to their religion, God alone being the Lord of the land to whom a tax on its produce was due; the appointment of Philo's nephew, Tiberius Alexander, an apostate Jew, as procurator (A.D. 45-48): these and some other unpopular measures of the Roman administration had created deep-seated dissatisfaction among the Jews. And when to these general causes of irritation there were added the cruel excesses of the procurators Cumanus (48-52) and Felix (52-60), and the robberies and vicious provocations of Gessius Florus (64-66), the nation could no longer control its fury, and the revolt broke out. The first outbreak occurred at Cæsarea, in the form of a street fight between Jews and Greeks, which the Roman governor was unable to suppress; shortly afterwards the Roman garrison of Jerusalem was massacred.

The Roman proconsul of Syria, Cestius Gallus, who was residing at Antioch, quickly realised that the extreme state of desperation of the people was

¹ Pomponius Mela, *De situ orbis libri III*, i, 11.

bound to make of the insurrection a very serious affair. Collecting all his available forces, amounting to some 20,000 Roman soldiers and about as many auxiliaries, he took up his headquarters at Acco with the intention first to re-establish order in Galilee. But the seriousness and swiftness of developments in Judea soon compelled him to move southward, and he established himself at Cæsarea. From here "he sent on part of his army to Joppa, and gave order, that if they could surprise that city they should occupy it; but if the citizens should perceive that they were coming to attack them, they were then to wait for him and the rest of the army. So some of them made a forced march by the seaside, and some by land, and so coming up on both sides, they took the city with ease : and, as the inhabitants had made no provision beforehand for flight, and far less for fighting, the soldiers fell upon them, and slew them all, with their families, and then plundered and burnt the city. And the number of the slain was eight thousand four hundred."¹

Cestius advanced on Jerusalem ; but after several unsuccessful assaults he gave up the siege and was retiring towards the plain closely pursued by the Jews, when, in the pass of Beth Horon, he was attacked by them, and his army routed. The rupture with Rome was complete.

The emperor Nero now placed one of his best generals, Titus Flavius Vespasian, in charge of affairs in Syria. In the spring of A.D. 67 he marched with an army of 50,000 men into Galilee, where he entirely re-established the Roman rule

¹ Josephus, *Jewish Wars* II, ch. xviii, 10.

before the end of the year. Early in A.D. 68 he entered Judea and occupied Cæsarea.

During the two years which had elapsed since the defeat of Cestius, Jaffa had been re-occupied by a large number of Jews, who had begun to rebuild the city and its walls, and had made themselves ships with which they were harassing commerce along the Syrian and Egyptian coasts, and, especially, interfering with the maritime communications between the Roman armies in Palestine and those in Egypt.¹ Vespasian sent to Jaffa a force of cavalry and infantry, who surprised the town at night and entered it whilst it was unguarded. The occupants of the city, realizing that resistance was futile, fled to their ships, and spent the night on the waters, at safe distance from the shore. "Now Joppa is without a haven naturally, for it ends in a rough shore, straight all the rest of it, but the two ends converge towards each other, where there are deep precipices, and great rocks that jut out into the open sea, and where the chains wherewith Andromeda was bound are still shown, attesting the antiquity of that fable, and the north wind blows and beats upon the shore, and dashes mighty waves against the rocks which receive them, and renders the haven more dangerous than the open sea. Now as the people from Jaffa were tossing about in the offing, in the morning a violent wind blew upon them (it is called by those that sail there Black Boreas), and dashed some of their ships against one another there, and some against the rocks; and many that were violently striving against the advancing tide to get

¹ Josephus, *Jewish Wars* III, ch. ix, 2.

into the open sea (for they were afraid of the rocky shore and the enemy upon it) were submerged by the waves that rose mountains high. Nor was there any place where they could flee to, nor any safety if they stayed where they were, as they were thrust off the sea by the violence of the wind, and out of the city by the violence of the Romans. And there was loud lamentation when the ships dashed against one another, and a terrible noise when they were broken to pieces; and some of the multitude in them were swallowed up by the waves, and so perished, and a great many were entangled in the wrecks. And some of them thought that to die by their own swords was an easier death than by the sea, and so they killed themselves; however, most were carried away by the waves, and dashed to pieces against the rocks, so that the sea was bloody a long way, and the shore was full of dead bodies, and the Romans watched for those that were carried ashore safe and slew them. And the number of bodies that came ashore was four thousand two hundred. The Romans also took the city without opposition, and rased it to the ground.”¹ Vespasian, to prevent the Jews from again using the harbour of Jaffa against him, placed a fortified camp on the summit of the hill, where the citadel had stood, and left there a garrison of infantry and cavalry who ravaged the district and destroyed all the villages and small towns.²

He then continued his operations in Judea, capturing one town or village after the other, and gradually isolating Jerusalem. Proclaimed emperor in July A.D. 69, he returned to Rome and left the

¹ Josephus, *Jewish Wars* III, ch. ix, 3.

² Josephus, *Jewish War* III, ch. ix, 4.

task of prosecuting the campaign to his son Titus, who, after a five months' siege, occupied Jerusalem on the 8th of September, A.D. 70, and completely destroyed the city and the Temple.

In commemoration of the Roman victory, Vespasian and his immediate successors on the throne struck gold, silver, and copper coins bearing designs and inscriptions celebrating the re-conquest of Judea. Of these coins several have special reference to the destruction of the Jewish fleet at Jaffa. The brass coin reproduced in Fig. 7 shows, on the reverse, Judea sitting in desolation under the shade of a palm tree, surrounded by the words JUDAEA NAVALIS.

FIGURE 7¹

On the coin represented in Fig. 8, which belongs to the collections of the British Museum, the Jews are shown in supplication at the feet of Titus, who is standing holding in his right hand, a winged Victory (?), and his right foot resting on the prow of a broken galley; the date of this coin is A.D. 73. There are also in existence coins of Vespasian, Titus, and Domitian, with the legend VICTORIA NAVALIS.² All these coins offer a striking evidence of the great military importance which was

FIGURE 8³

¹ Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-194.

² Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-194.

³ Madden, *op. cit.*, pp. 192-194.

attached, in the view of the Romans, to the capture of Jaffa and the destruction of the young, but apparently effective, naval power of the Jews.

Jaffa did not long remain in ruins. Coins have been found, struck during the reign of the emperor Elagabalus (A.D. 218-222), bearing the image of Athena standing (which may possibly be connected with some representation of the legend of Perseus and Andromeda) and inscribed *Ιοππης Φλαονιας* (Joppe Flavia)¹ or *ΦΛΑΟΥ[ΙΟ] ΗΠΗΕ* or *ΦΛΑ ΙΟΠΠ* (Fig. 9), which proves that the rebuilding of the town was commenced as early as the reign of Vespasian (Titus

FIGURE 9^a

Flavius Vespasianus), that is not later than A.D. 79, and that it was named after him. The emperors were bent upon completely romanizing Judea, and, to a large extent, they seem to have succeeded in this policy, for the new Jaffa appears to have been from the start, at least in outward form and in language, if not in thought, a predominantly Græco-Roman city.³ The Jews flocked back to it in large numbers, especially after the revolt of Bar-Kokhba under Hadrian in 132-135, when they were forbidden on pain of death to enter Jerusalem, or even to look upon it from afar: a prohibition which

¹ Darricarrière, *Sur une Monnaie inédite de Joppé*, in *Revue Archéologique, Nouvelle Série*, t. XLIII, 1882, p. 74 ff. (quoted by Schürer, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 132).

² G. F. Hill, *op. cit.*, Plate V, No. 7.

³ A. Schlatter, *Zur Topographie und Geschichte Palästinas*, 1893, p. 2.

naturally led to their concentration in the other large cities. At Jaffa, at the same time, the reviving commercial activity of the town led to the immigration and settlement of Jewish merchants from Egypt, Cyrenaica, Asia Minor, Chios, Babylon, and other parts of the Roman empire. That the Jewish community of Jaffa during the second, third, and fourth centuries A.D. must have been quite important, may be inferred from the comparatively large number of Talmudic scholars whose names are mentioned in the rabbinical writings as being originally from Jaffa. Such are : Rabbi Acha (*Jerus. Moed Katan, Ber. Rabb.* c. 15), Rabbi Pinchas (*Pesachim*, 1), Rabbi Adda (*Megillah* 16 b), Rabbi Nachman (*Vayikra Rab.* c. 6), Rabbi Tanchum (*Pes. Rab.* c. 17), Rabbi Judah ben Tarphon,¹ and many others. Several of them were buried at Jaffa, and the *tituli*² of their tombs, bearing their names in Hebrew or in Greek, or in both these languages, have been found in the ancient Græco-Jewish necropolis which Clermont-Ganneau discovered, in 1874, on the outskirts of the city (see Appendix I).

Zenobia, queen of Palmyra and widow of the *Dux Oriente* Odaenathus, having in 267 thrown off her allegiance to Rome, her general Zabda occupied Palestine and Egypt in A.D. 270, and for a short time Jaffa found itself under Palmyrene rule. But in the following year already, the emperor Aurelian in person led an expedition into Syria, drove the Palmyrenes out, and, in 272 captured Zenobia and her sons, and made himself master of her

¹ *Mishna, Eduyot VIII, 2*, according to Samuel Klein : *Jüdisch-palästinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vienna 1920, p. 40.

² Funerary inscriptions.

beautiful capital which was entirely destroyed in 273.

Meanwhile, although Jaffa in aspect and language had become a Græco-Roman town, Judaism still remained the predominant religion of its inhabitants, and Christianity does not seem to have made any considerable progress there. The list of Palestinian prelates who are mentioned as having been present at the Council of Nicaea in 325 includes "the Bishops of Jerusalem, Neapolis (Nablus), Sebaste (Samaria), Gadara (Gezer), Ascalon, Nicopolis (Amwas), Yamnia (Yebnah), Eleutheropolis (Beit-Jibrîn), Maximianopolis (?), Jericho, Sebulon (Neby Sebelân), Lydda, Azotus (Ashdod), Scythopolis (Beisân), Gaza, Aila (Akabah), and Capitolias (Beit Râs),"¹ but does not speak of a Bishop of Jaffa; neither is the existence of a Christian community at Jaffa hinted at by Eusebius who passed through the town on his way from Egypt to Saida in A.D. 330. St. Jerôme, who visited Jaffa in A.D. 382 or 383 in the company of the Holy Paula of Rome and her daughter the Holy Eustochium, admired in Jaffa "the harbour of the fugitive Jonah,"² and was shown the rock to which Andromeda was chained : "*Hic locus est in quo usque hodie saxa monstrantur in littore, in quibus Andromeda religata Persei quondam sit liberata praesidio*";³ but no mention is made of any Christian site such as the house of Tabitha or that of Simon the Tanner, which would certainly have

¹ Harnack, *The Mission and Expansion of Christianity*, Vol. II, p. 108 (quoted by Archdeacon Dowling, *The Episcopal Succession in Jerusalem from c. A.D. 30*, in P.E.F.Q.S., 1913, p. 165).

² *The Pilgrimage of the Holy Paula*, by St. Jerôme, P.P.T.S., 1896, p. 4;

³ *Comment. in Jonam*, c. I (quoted by S. Munk, *Palestine. Description géographique, historique et archéologique*, Paris, 1881, p. 59).

been pointed out to the travellers if there had been at Jaffa an important Christian community, seeing that at Cæsarea, which they visited a few days before Jaffa, they did not fail to admire the house of the centurion Cornelius.

In A.D. 395 occurred the partition of the Roman empire, and Palestine naturally fell to the share of the emperor of Byzantium. Whether, and in what manner and measure, this change affected the life and customs of the people of Jaffa, or the aspect of the city, we cannot say, as our information about this period is exceedingly scanty. Saint Cyril of Alexandria, writing during the first half of the fifth century, describes it as an important commercial centre and as the place of embarkation for those who travel from Judea to the other countries of the Levant.¹ Soon afterwards we find Jaffa the seat of a bishopric under the Patriarchate of Jerusalem. Amongst the Bishops who signed the acts of the Council of Ephesus, which took place in A.D. 431, there appears one Fidus, Bishop of Jaffa; similarly, at the Council of Jerusalem in A.D. 536, a Bishop of Jaffa, named Elias, was present.² Whether it was made a bishopric on account of the discovery of the tomb of Tabitha, or whether the creation of a bishopric and the increased transit of pilgrims from foreign countries on their way to Jerusalem led to the search for the tomb and its happy discovery, the fact is that during the sixth century we find the first recorded references to it. The priest Virgilius

¹ R. P. Abel, *La Géographie sacrée chez S. Cyrille d'Alexandrie*, in *Revue Biblique*, 1922, p. 417.

² "In consilio Ephesino habito anno 431 commemoratur FIDUS Joppes episcopus, & ELIAS in concilio Hierosolymitano anno 536 habito" (Reland, *Palaestina ex veteribus monumentis illustrata*, Utrecht, 1714, p. 867).

towards the year 500 and Theodosius towards 530, are attracted to Jaffa by the memory of the apostle Peter and the resurrection of Tabitha;¹ and Antoninus Martyr, who visited the Holy Places of Palestine about A.D. 560-570, writes: "Leaving Jerusalem, I went down to Joppa, where rests St. Tabitha."²

For about two hundred years from the date of the partition of the Roman Empire, peace had reigned in Palestine, when in A.D. 613 the Sassanid king of Persia, Chrosroes II, tempted by the weakening of the imperial authority throughout the Asiatic dominions of Byzantium, attacked the usurper Phocas, invaded northern Syria, and in the following year conquered Palestine, spreading desolation through the whole country. His rule there lasted only fourteen years: the emperor Heraclius in his turn took the offensive, destroyed the Persian army in several victorious battles, and forced Siroes, Chrosroes' son, to submit in A.D. 628. But Heraclius' victories were also the cause which led to the loss of his Asiatic dominions. Through the annihilation of the military power of Persia there disappeared the bulwark which had so far kept in check the nomads of the Arabian peninsula; and when, a few years later, the young armies of Islam surged out from the desert and struck their first blow at the Syrian barriers of the weakened empire, Byzantium found herself alone to fight a battle in which she was bound to succumb.

¹ F. Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1899, art. "Joppé."

² *Of the Holy Places visited by Antoninus Martyr*, P.P.T.S., 1896, p. 35.

CHAPTER VI

JAFFA UNDER THE ARABS (A.D. 636—1099)

Mohammed died in A.D. 632. In the battle on the Yarmuk (A.D. 636) the army of Heraclius was utterly defeated by the Arab tribes of the desert united under the leadership of Omar. The same year, Omar's general Amr Ibn al-As captured Jaffa;¹ the bishopric, of which it had been the seat, was suppressed, and the name of the town was changed from Joppe to Yâfah. Neither the siege nor the change of régime appear to have brought with them any harmful consequences to the town, which continued to play its rôle as the principal port of Palestine. The Christian and Jewish pilgrims continued to pass through it on their way to and from Jerusalem, the former generally stopping for a short while to visit the Tanner's house and Tabitha's tomb, and to pray at the "church of St. Peter the Apostle,"² which had been built at Jaffa, no doubt already before the Arab conquest, probably at the time of the creation of the Jaffa bishopric.

In A.D. 878, Ahmed ibn Tulun, the governor of Egypt, revolted against the Abbasid khalifs of

¹ R. Hartmann, *Palästina unter den Arabern 632-1516*; Leipzig, 1915; p. 14.
² *The Hodoeporicon of Saint Willibald c. A.D. 754*, P.P.T.S., London, 1895, p. 25.

Baghdad, declared himself independent, and occupied Palestine and Syria.¹ His son, Abu-l-Jeish Khumaraweyh, who succeeded him in A.D. 884, saw his domination over these countries challenged by the khalif's Turkish governors of Mosul and Anbar, who captured Damascus in A.D. 885. A first army sent against them having been defeated on the Orontes, Khumaraweyh himself led a fresh force of 70,000 men into Palestine, one part of them advancing by land whilst the others were transported by the fleet to Jaffa. In a battle at et-Tawahîn ("The Mills"), probably the mills on the river Aujah a few miles north of Jaffa, the enemy was defeated; Damascus was retaken, and the khalif had to confirm Khumaraweyh and his descendants for a term of thirty years in the government of Palestine and the other countries occupied by him. According to the Arab geographer, Yakubi, writing in A.D. 891, Jaffa, although still a small town at the time, had already become the principal commercial centre of Palestine, being the seaport of Ramleh which was then the capital of the country.²

In A.D. 905, the khalif Moktafi's general, Mohammed ibn-Suleyman, marched through Syria and Palestine into Egypt whilst his fleet landed at Damietta, destroying the Egyptian army, and put an end to the Tulunid dynasty by carrying the reigning prince, Sheyban, and all the remaining members of the family as prisoners to Baghdad.

In the summer of 969, Egypt was conquered on

¹ Stanley Lane-Poole, *A History of Egypt in the Middle Ages*, Second Edition, London, 1914, p. 66.

² Yakuby, *Geography*, Leyden, 1861, p. 117 (quoted by Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1899, art. "Joppé").

behalf of El-Moizz, the Fatimid khalif of Kayrawân in Berbery, by his commander-in-chief Jawhar, and a few months later one of his generals, Jafar ibn-Fellah, subdued Palestine. Two years later, Jafar was killed near Damascus in a battle against Hassan ibn-Ahmed, the leader of the Carmarthian Arabs.¹ The Fatimid army was routed and its remnants retreated into Palestine. Hassan, marching after them, seized Ramleh and besieged Jaffa, behind the walls of which the Egyptians, still 11,000 strong, had sought refuge. Finding the resistance stronger than he had expected, he left a part of his army to continue the siege, whilst he himself, with the greater part of his forces, invaded Egypt, where he was defeated and had to seek safety in flight. African troops were now despatched from Cairo to relieve Jaffa, which was still holding out; the garrison was brought back to Egypt, but no attempt was made to hold the city any further, seeing that Hassan ibn-Ahmed had succeeded in reaching Damascus and that an offensive return on his part was possible at any moment. Of Jaffa at the time of these events we possess no other description than the following few lines by the learned Arab traveller, Abu-Mohammed Abdallah ibn-Ahmed of Jerusalem, commonly called el-Mukaddasi: "Yafah, lying on the sea, is but a small town, although the emporium of Palestine and the port of ar-Ramleh. It is protected by an impregnable fortress, with iron gates; and the sea-gates are also of iron. The mosque is pleasant to the

¹ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 106.

eye, and overlooks the sea. The harbour is excellent.”¹

Jaffa was one of the appointed stations for the exchange or ransoming of Moslem captives, and one of the dépôts for the concentration of the native levies. “All along the coast of the Province of Syria are the watch-stations (*Ribât*), where the levies assemble. The warships and the galleys of the Greeks also come into these ports, bringing aboard of them the captives taken from the Muslims; these they offer for ransom—three for the hundred Dinârs.² And in each of these ports there are men who know the Greek tongue, for they have missions to the Greeks, and trade with them in divers wares. At the Stations, whenever a Greek vessel appears, they sound the horns; also, if it be night, they light a beacon there, on the tower, or, if it be day, they make a great smoke. From every watch-station on the coast up to the capital (ar-Ramleh) are built, at intervals, high towers, in each of which is stationed a company of men. On the occasion of the arrival of the Greek ships the men, perceiving them, kindle the beacon on the tower nearest to the coast Station, and then on that lying next above it, and then on, one after another; so that hardly is an hour elapsed before the trumpets are sounding in the capital, and drums are beating in the towers, calling the people down to their Watch-station by the sea; and they hurry out in force, with their arms, and the young men of the villages gather together. Then the ransoming begins. One prisoner will be given in exchange

¹ *Description of the Province of Syria, including Palestine*, by Mukaddasi, c. A.D. 985, P.P.T.S., London, 1896, p. 54.

² That is about £16 for each captive.

for another, or money and jewels will be offered; until at length all the prisoners who are in the Greek ships have been set free. And the Watch-stations of this province where this ransoming of captives takes place as Ghazzah, Mîmâs, Askalân, Mâhûz—(the Port of) Azdûd, Mâhûz—(the Port of) Yubnâh, Yâfah and Arsûf.”¹

The Fatimid hold over Palestine was always very loose. Rebellions and civil wars followed each other in close succession, laying the fields waste and greatly hampering trade along the roads; the towns on the coast, including Jaffa, were less affected, by reason of the mastery of the sea which Egypt continued to enjoy, thanks to its fleet. The exactions of the ruling power, which was permanently in need of money, contributed to impoverish the country; and violent earthquakes in A.D. 1016 and 1033 added to the general confusion and misery. That of December 5th, A.D. 1033, was especially destructive: at Jerusalem part of the walls of the city and of the citadel of David fell to the ground; at Ramleh a third of the town was thrown down and many people were killed under the ruins. The Rabbi, the Gaon Solomon ben Yehuda, who was living in Ramleh and witnessed the catastrophe, writing shortly afterwards to a friend in Egypt, says that “this event took place alike in Ramleh, in the whole of Filastîn (Palestine), from fortified city to open village, in all fortresses of Egypt (i.e., Fatimid ruler), from the sea to Fort Dan. . . This event took place on Thursday. . . In some places the waters in the cisterns reached the brims. . . On Friday, as well as on the following night, the quake

¹ Mukaddasi, *op. cit.*, pp. 61-62.

recurred."¹ This letter justifies the conclusion that Jaffa, too, must have considerably suffered from this earthquake. The statement that "in some places the waters in the cisterns reached the brims," with its allusion to some particularly marked oscillation in the level of the surface of the land provides a striking confirmation of the fact related by the Arab historians, no doubt with the usual amount of oriental exaggeration, that "the sea suddenly receded for the distance of a day's journey, but on the inhabitants of the neighbourhood taking possession of the reclaimed land, it suddenly returned and overwhelmed them, so that an immense destruction of life ensued."² Apparently at Jaffa and in other places on the coast, the earthquake was accompanied by a gigantic displacement of the waters of the sea.³

Neither natural nor human causes of disturbance had succeeded so far in deterring Christian and Jewish pilgrims from visiting Palestine. In fact, their numbers had been steadily increasing. Many of them would journey overland; but those who chose the sea route, and these were the larger number, generally landed at Jaffa rather than at any other Palestinian port, by reason of its nearness to Jerusalem. The sea-voyage was made by one or other of the fleets of merchant vessels which, once

¹ J. Mann, *The Jews in Egypt and in Palestine under the Fatimid Caliphs*, Oxford University Press, 1920, Vol. I, p. 157.

² W. Besant and E. H. Palmer, *Jerusalem, the City of Herod and Saladin*, London, 1908, p. 119.

³ A similar phenomenon occurred during the great earthquake of December 28th, 1908, in the Straits of Messina, when "at first the sea retired, and then a great wave rolled in, followed by others generally of decreasing amplitude. . . . At Messina, the height of the great wave was 2.70 metres, whilst at Ali and Giardini, it reached 8.40 metres, and at San Alessio as much as 11.7 metres" (*Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, article "Earthquake").

or twice every year, were accustomed to leave the Italian ports of Genoa, Pisa and Amalfi for the Levant. Of the arrival of such a Genoese fleet at Jaffa we have the interesting account of an eyewitness in the person of the priest Ingulf, who in 1076, became Abbot of Croyland, and in later years wrote a history of the Abbots of that convent, including his own experiences. He visited Palestine as a member of a group of about thirty French Normans who had joined the pilgrim party, 7,000 strong, which left Germany in November, 1064, under the leadership of the Archbishop Siegfried of Mayence. Whereas the Germans (of whom only 2,000 were left on the arrival of the party in Palestine) made the return journey again by land, the Normans chose the sea route, taking advantage of the presence at Jaffa, in the spring of 1065, of a Genoese trading fleet which had already called in turn at the ports further north and was now sailing homeward. The first port of call in Italy was Brindisi, where the pilgrims were landed.¹

These commercial expeditions of the Italian cities were suddenly brought to a standstill in 1071, in consequence of the invasion of Syria and Palestine by the Seljuks, a Turkish tribe from Khorasan, who, having first established their rule over a considerable part of Central Asia and Persia, had now succeeded, on account of their sternly orthodox sunnism, in forcing themselves upon the khalifs of Baghdad as their protectors and champions against the "heretic" shiite monarchs of Egypt. In 1071 the Seljuk general, Atsiz, conquered Palestine and occupied Jerusalem; he

¹ Adolf Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte der Romanischen Völker des Mittelmeergebiets bis zum Ende der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1906, p. 65.

besieged Jaffa,¹ but failed to take it, and the city remained under the sway of the Fatimids.² The cruel fanaticism of the Seljuks made life intolerable to Christian and Jew alike. For fear of being robbed, the merchants hardly dared to venture out upon the roads; and the result was that, although the maritime cities were never occupied by the Seljuks, their markets were devoid of goods for export, and the Italian trade was completely crippled. The loss was felt the more acutely as, on account of the persecutions to which the pilgrims were subjected, the pilgrimages also were falling away.

The Christian clergy of Europe, at the sight of the suffering of its Palestinian co-religionists and of the persecution of the pilgrims, was bound to react in some form or other to these evils. The Italian cities, severely hit by the disappearance of their once so profitable business with the Levant, were only too eager to assist any undertaking, whatever its motives, that would result in opening again to their nationals the markets of Palestine and Syria. Of this combination of religious fervour and commercial interests the Crusading movement was the result; the opportunity for it was provided by domestic quarrels among the Seljuks and by the degenerate luxuriousness of the Fatimids; its success was due to the association of French and English military valour with Italian sea-power.

In 1098, Antioch, in Northern Syria, was taken by the Crusaders, and on the news of its fall being received at Cairo, an Egyptian army under El-Afdal ibn-Bedr, the wezir of the Fatimid khalif

¹ Munk, *Palestine*, p. 617.

² Mann, *op. cit.*, p. 188.

El-Mustâli, moved into Palestine, and took Jerusalem and Tyre from the Seljuks. Eleven months later, the first Crusaders appeared before the walls of the Holy City.

CHAPTER VII

JAFFA UNDER THE FRANKS (A.D. 1099—1268)

Exactly like the Philistines, some 2,300 years before, the Army of the Cross, under Godfrey of Bouillon, had marched from Antioch southwards along the coast, in order to keep in touch with the Genoese ships which carried their supplies.¹ At the news of its progress the Fatimid garrison of Jaffa razed the fortifications of the town, and destroyed the city and the harbour, so as to prevent the Christians from using Jaffa as a base.² For this reason the inhabitants left the place, which is said to have been found entirely abandoned by Godfrey on his arrival there in May, 1099.³ He contented himself with occupying the ruined town, and marched up to Jerusalem.

Here the siege proved far more difficult than he had expected, and the Christian army, suffering from hunger and thirst, had almost given up the hope of ever taking the Holy City when, in June, the brothers William and Primus Embriaci, of Genoa, arrived at Jaffa with two galleys loaded with foodstuffs and carpenters' tools, and bringing with them also a number of artificers and carpenters skilled in the manufacture and use of siege engines. Surprised at night by the Egyptian fleet, which

¹ H. Sidebotham, *England and Palestine*, London, 1918, p. 81.

² Jacques de Vitry, I, 22.

³ William of Tyre, *Belli Sacri historia*, VIII, 9.

from its base at Ascalon was keeping command of the sea, the Genoese vessels had to be abandoned to the enemy; not, however, before all the cargo had been safely landed.¹ Thanks mainly to the siege-towers which the Genoese craftsmen built with timber cut in the mountains near Nablus, the siege made rapid progress. Almost at the same time there arrived at Jaffa a Pisan fleet of 120 ships, which had sailed from Italy, by order of the Pope, Urban II, early in the spring of the same year, under the leadership of Dagobert, Bishop of Pisa and Papal legate. The Pisans just arrived in time to render valuable assistance in the siege, and Jerusalem was taken on July 15th. Immediately afterwards, Godfrey returned to Jaffa and began with the help of the Pisans to rebuild the city as well as the walls and the citadel (of which only one tower had been left standing by the Egyptians),² and to repair the harbour. On Christmas Day, the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem was founded, "a feudal kingdom of Frankish *seigneurs*." Jaffa and the surrounding district were made a "county," which after the capture of Ascalon in 1157 became the "county of Jaffa and Ascalon." Rodger, *seigneur* of Rosay, was made the first count of Jaffa;³ his arms were a gold field with a cross *patée gules*.⁴ The bishopric of Jaffa was re-established, and was placed under the jurisdiction of the arch-

¹ Cl. Huart, *Geschichte der Araber*, Leipzig, 1915, pp. 6 and 100—Also Wilhelm Heyd, *Geschichte des Levantehandels im Mittelalter*, Stuttgart, 1879, Vol. I, p. 149.

² Marino Sanuto, *lib. 3, par. 6, c. 3* (quoted by O. Dapper, *Naukeurige Beschryving van gansch Syrie, en Palestyn of Heilige Lant, etc.*, Amsterdam, 1677, p. 231).

³ M. Rey, *Les Familles d'Outremer : Les Comtes de Jaffa et d'Ascalon*, Paris, 1869, p. 338.

⁴ Conder, *Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, p. 176.

bishopric of Cæsarea.¹ Dagobert was nominated Patriarch of Jerusalem, and on the 2nd of February, 1100, Godfrey concluded with him a treaty by which the Pisans were given one-fourth of the town of Jaffa as their property for ever, a concession which made them the masters for the time being of the whole foreign trade of Jaffa. At Easter of the same year a further treaty was concluded, stipulating that, in the event of new lands or towns, especially Cairo, being conquered with Pisan help, or in the event of Godfrey dying without direct heirs, the remaining three-fourths of Jaffa (as well as the whole city of Jerusalem) should become the property of the Pisans. As soon as this second act of donation was signed, the Pisan fleet, together with some English ships that had arrived at Jaffa, sailed back to Italy carrying many Crusaders home with it.² Cairo was not taken, and at Godfrey's death the Crusading princes chose his brother Baldwin as king; thus the arrangements contained in Godfrey's second act of donation to the Pisans were never fulfilled.³

On their way home, the Pisan ships had, in May, 1100, off the island of Rhodes, a sharp encounter with the fleet of 200 ships, which had sailed from Venice in the previous July under the leadership of the Bishop of Castello (Venice), Enrico Contarini, and a son of the Doge, Giovanni Michael. Early in June, this Venetian fleet arrived at Jaffa, to the great relief of Godfrey and Dagobert who had been

¹ Wilhelm Albert Bachiene, *Historische und Geographische Beschreibung von Palästina nach seinem ehemaligen und jetzigen Zustande. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt von Gottfried Arnold Maas*, Leipzig, 1733, Part II, Vol. III, p. 184.

² Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte . . . ,* p. 124.

³ Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte . . . ,* p. 125.

feeling rather unsafe since the departure of the Pisans. Whilst the rank and file of the Venetians, divided in two sections, went up in turn to visit the holy places of Jerusalem, their leaders concluded with Godfrey, at Jaffa, an important treaty which, on the return of the pilgrims from Jerusalem, was confirmed by oath, and by which the Venetians undertook to serve "*in Dei servitio*" from June 24th till August 15th. In recompense for this military assistance, they were to receive in Jaffa and in every other town of the coast or of the interior which the Franks had already conquered, or would yet conquer, with their help, a church, a site suitable for the creation of a market, complete freedom from tolls for all time, and a third part of the spoil which would be gained in any future conquests. On the basis of this treaty a common expedition against Acco was prepared, but, before it could start, Godfrey died on the 18th July, at the hospital which he himself had built at Jaffa, of a fever, caught a few weeks before in the Huleh marshes.¹ In the course of the one year that elapsed since his arrival at Jaffa, a considerable part of the town and its defences had been rebuilt, the former inhabitants had returned, and a large number of Franks had settled there in addition; the harbour was again busy: Jaffa was well on the way to become once more a flourishing commercial centre.

The death of Godfrey led to the abandonment, for the time being, of the expedition against Acco. Instead, Tancred and the Venetians contented themselves with occupying Haifa, after which the fleet sailed home to Venice.²

¹ C. R. Conder, *The Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem*, London, 1897,
p. 73.
² Schaube, op. cit., p. 116.

Meanwhile, the Fatimid armies had had time to recover from the effects of the loss of Jerusalem, and El-Afdal began to think of its reconquest. The first necessary step was to drive the Franks out of Jaffa, and to cut them off from the sea. Early in the year 1101, Jaffa was besieged by an Egyptian army of 20,000 men; and although the garrison is stated to have consisted only of 40 mounted knights and 200 infantry, the Egyptians could achieve no result and had to abandon the siege.¹ It is probable that the real reason which prompted them to retire was the news of the impending approach of new Christian reinforcements. On April 16th, a Genoese fleet of thirty-two ships sailed into Jaffa,² where she was solemnly received by King Baldwin. He concluded with the Genoese leaders a treaty, which was written in letters of gold and preserved in the church of the Holy Sepulchre, and which was confirmed again three years later, and renewed by later kings and princes. By this treaty Baldwin, in recompense for the help given at the siege of Jerusalem, and for the promise of further military assistance in all future undertakings, gave to the Genoese church of St. Laurence a square in Jerusalem, a street in Jaffa, and a third part of Cæsarea, Arsuf, and Acco when those cities should be taken.³

In the spring of 1102, king Baldwin sought shelter behind the walls of Jaffa after the loss of a battle, at Ascalon, against the Egyptians.⁴

¹ O. Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

² Fulcheri Carnotensis *Historia Hierosolymitana* (1095-1127). Mit Erläuterungen und einem Anhange herausg. von Heinrich Hagenmeyer, Heidelberg, 1913, p. 394.

³ Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 83.—Also Heyd, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 153.

⁴ *The Historie of the first Expedition to Jerusalem*, by Godfrey of Bullen, Robert of Normandie, and other Christian Princes, written by

On the 13th of October of the same year, Jaffa was visited by a storm of exceptional violence, which resulted in the loss of more than a thousand lives and many ships. The catastrophe occurred on the day following that of the arrival by sea of the pilgrim Saewulf, who has given the following exceedingly vivid account of it:¹

"On the very same day that we anchored, someone said to me, God prompting him, as I believe : Sir, go on shore to-day, lest perhaps to-night, or early in the morning, a storm may come on, and you may not be able to land. When I heard this, I was at once seized with a desire to go ashore. I hired a boat, and with all my belongings landed. While I was landing, the sea became troubled, the tossing increased, and a violent tempest arose, but by the gracious favour of God I arrived unharmed. What further took place? We went into the city to seek for lodging, wearied and overcome with our long toil; we took some refreshment and rested. However, early in the morning, as we came out from church, we heard the noise of the sea, the cries of the people, and all were running together, and wondering at such things as they had never heard before. We ran, full of fear with the rest, and came to the shore. When we got there, we saw the storm running mountain high, and beheld the bodies of men and women without number drowned and miserably lying on the beach. We saw also ships dashed against each other and broken into small pieces. Who could listen to anything but

Robert, whome some call the Englishman, a Monke of Saint Remigius . . . in Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes, by Samuel Purchas, Glasgow, 1905, Vol. VII, pp. 466-467.

¹ *The Pilgrimage of Saewulf to Jerusalem and the Holy Land, A.D. 1102 and 1103, P.P.T.S., London, 1896, pp. 6-8.*

the roaring of the sea and the crashing of the ships? It was even louder than the cries of the people and the shouting of all the crews. Our ship, however, being very large and strongly built, and several others laden with corn and other merchandise, and with pilgrims outward or homeward bound, still held by their anchors and cables, although they were sorely tossed about by the waves. Oh, what fear of evil did they fall into! How was their merchandise thrown away! What eye of those who beheld them was so hard and stony that it could refrain from tears? We had not been gazing long, when, by the violence of the waves, or the currents, the anchors gave way, the cables were broken, and the ships were given up to the fierceness of the waves, all hope of escape being cut off. They were now lifted up on high, now drawn down to the depths, and quickly were thrown up out of the deep upon the sand or upon the rocks. There they were miserably dashed from side to side, and gradually torn to pieces by the tempest. The fierceness of the storm would not suffer them to return sound to the sea, and the steepness of the beach would not allow them to reach the shore in safety. But what boots it to tell how lamentably sailors and pilgrims, when all hope was gone, still clung, some to the ships, some to the masts, some to the spars, some to the cross-timbers? What more shall I say? Some, stupefied with terror, were drowned; some, as they were clinging, were decapitated by the timbers of their own ships. This may seem incredible to many, yet I saw it. Some, washed off from the decks of their ships, were carried out again to the deep. Some, who knew how to swim, voluntarily committed themselves to the waves, and thus

many of them perished. Very few, who had confidence in their own strength, arrived safe on shore. Thus, out of thirty very large ships, some of which are commonly called Dormundi, others Gulafri, and others Catti, all laden with pilgrims and merchandise, scarcely seven remained unwrecked by the time I had left the shore. More than a thousand persons of either sex perished on that day. A greater misery on one day no eye ever saw."

These notes of Saewulf give us an idea of the remarkable activity of the port of Jaffa within three years from the time of its conquest by the Franks. There are "thirty very large ships" in harbour; and they do not belong to one fleet only, for some have only just arrived, their outward-bound passengers having not yet landed, whilst others are on the point of leaving since their homeward-bound passengers are already on board.

During the whole year, 1103, king Baldwin continued to rebuild and to embellish the city,¹ but on two occasions the work had to be interrupted in order to beat off attacks by the Egyptians. In each case the town was besieged by land and by sea. The first time, the enemy's army was supported by a fleet of fifty ships and the attack was pressed with extraordinary vigour for three or four days; the defenders, despairing of the power to resist any longer, had almost made up their minds to surrender, when Baldwin appeared by sea with reinforcements and sailed into the harbour through the midst of the Egyptian fleet, whereupon the enemy abandoned his efforts and retired to

¹ Palestine Exploration Fund, *The Survey of Western Palestine, Memoirs*, Vol. II, p. 276.

Ascalon.¹ Some two months later, it having become known that Baldwin had fallen ill, the Egyptians came back, and again besieged Jaffa with a large fleet and a numerous army; but, on receiving the news that the king had left his sick-bed and was advancing against them, they again gave up the siege and withdrew.²

A document dated of the same year, 1103, mentions the grant, by the Patriarch Arnulf, of a piece of land destined for a cemetery to the church of St. Peter,³ which was built on the site indicated by tradition as being that of the house of Tabitha.⁴

In the spring of 1105, an Egyptian army of 40,000 men, supported by a large fleet, again besieged the city, but on the arrival of Baldwin with a force of 6,000 men the garrison made a *sor tie*, and the Egyptians were driven off with the loss of 7,000 killed, amongst whom was the admiral of Ascalon. A few months later they came back, by land only, to avenge his death, but were beaten off by the people of Jaffa alone.⁵

A year or two later, the Russian Abbot, Daniel, passed through Jaffa on his pilgrimage to Jerusalem; from the account which he wrote of his journey, we learn that the walls of the city on the sea side extended right into the water: "the waves wash its walls."⁶

Early in 1110, a force of 10,000 Norwegians and Englishmen, led by Sigurd, a son, or brother, of

¹ Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

² Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

³ Röhricht, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens*, in Z.D.P.V., 1887, p. 202.

⁴ Röhricht, *Studien zur mittelalterlichen Geographie und Topographie Syriens*, in Z.D.P.V., 1887, p. 202.

⁵ Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

⁶ *The Pilgrimage of the Russian Abbot Daniel in the Holy Land (A.D. 1106-1107)*, P.P.T.S., London, 1895, p. 54.

king Magnus of Norway, arrived at Jaffa in a fleet of sixty ships, and stayed there practically the whole year, taking part in the capture of Beyrut in April and of Sidon in December.¹

The year 1113 witnessed a new and unsuccessful siege of a few days by an Egyptian army from Ascalon.²

In 1114, the metropolitan church of St. Peter, together with the cemetery which had been added to it eleven years previously, was given by the Patriarch Ebremar to the church of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem. The act of donation shows that the church of St. Peter was situated outside the city walls : “*Ecclesiam Sancti Petri majorem, quae est apud Joppenae eum cimeterio ecclesiae pertinenti.*”³

In 1115, the Egyptians from Ascalon again besieged Jaffa with a large army and a fleet of seventy ships. The assailants succeeded in burning the gates of the city, and made an attempt to scale the walls by means of ladders, but were driven off.⁴ A few days later, they came back with six boats full of ladders, but again they had to return home without having obtained any result.⁵

In 1117, king Baldwin invaded Egypt; but he became dangerously ill and was compelled to return home, not however before having done sufficient damage to discourage the wezir El-Afdal from inviting any further such reprisals. However, at the end of 1121, the prudent and wise wezir was

¹ Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 90.—Also Besant and Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 253.

² H. Prutz, *Kulturgeschichte der Kreuzzüge*, Berlin, 1883, p. 95.

³ Quoted by Clermont-Ganneau in P.E.F.Q.S., 1874, p. 274.

⁴ Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 232.—Also Guérin, *La Judée*, Vol. I, p. 19.

⁵ Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

assassinated by order of the khalif, and the latter, as soon as the winter was over, delivered a new attack on Jaffa with a large army well provided with siege engines of every kind, and aided by a fleet of seventy galleys. But a Christian relief force of 7,000 attacked the Egyptians and forced them to abandon the siege.¹

On the 18th April, 1123, king Baldwin lost a battle against the Seljuks in northern Syria, and was made a prisoner; and as soon as the news of this disaster to the Christians became known to the khalif Al-Amir at Cairo, he at once started on a new offensive against Jaffa, both by land and by sea. His army was better provided than ever with all types of siege engines, and the fleet was composed of twenty-four of his best battleships.² But, Count Eustace Garnier, who had been chosen as regent for the time that the king's captivity would last, seems to have had timely warning of their movements; for a message was sent to Cyprus, where a Venetian fleet of 120 ships, commanded by the Doge Domenico Michael in person, had recently arrived *en route* for Syria and Palestine. The Venetians at once crossed the sea to Acco. Meanwhile, on May 23rd or 24th, the Egyptians, after having sat down before Jaffa for a short while, had begun the assault, showering without interruption enormous quantities of large and heavy stones on the city walls. But the garrison of Jaffa fought with the energy of despair. The assaults had been continuous for five days, and the walls were seriously breached in several places, when the Venetian fleet came in view. The Doge had

¹ Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

² Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 232.

divided his force into two divisions : the one, of eighteen ships only, sailed slowly southwards at a short distance from the shore ; the other, comprising all the remaining ships, put out into the open sea and, describing a wide curve, approached Jaffa from the west. At the sight of the eighteen Venetian ships approaching from the north, the Admiral of Ascalon, thinking that these were all the forces sent against him, at once advanced to attack them. The Venetians, pretending to hesitate, began to retreat towards the open sea, closely followed by the Egyptians, when suddenly the main division of the Venetian fleet was seen approaching. The Egyptians, realising the extreme peril of their position, turned south in a desperate attempt to escape to their base at Ascalon. However, the main Venetian division succeeded in forestalling them and in barring their line of retreat ; they were surrounded on all sides, all their ships captured, and their crews massacred.¹ At the news of the destruction of the fleet, the Egyptian general before Jaffa abandoned the siege and returned to Ascalon. The naval victory brought the Venetians a very rich booty. In addition, they concluded with the Regent and the Patriarch of Jerusalem a new treaty of alliance, known as the *Pactum Warmundi*, which, apart from other special concessions at Jerusalem and Acco, and at Tyre and Ascalon when these would be conquered, granted them in all the other cities of the kingdom, including Jaffa, a number of important privileges. These were :² the full and tax-free possession of a street, a bath, and an oven ; exemption from all

¹ Fulcher, *op. cit.*, Lib. III, c xx.

² Schaube, *Handelsgeschichte . . .*, p. 131.

customs, duties and harbour dues, except on pilgrims' ships; disputes by Venetian nationals were to be tried by Venetian courts of their own; they were to exercise the same financial and legal authority over non-Venetian inhabitants of their quarters as that exercised by the king over his subjects; disputes between Venetians and non-Venetians were to come before the royal courts only if the defendant was not a Venetian.

The year 1133 saw Jaffa in rebellion against king Fulke (1131-1144). The latter's wife, Millicent, was a cousin of Hugh, Count of Jaffa, one of the handsomest, bravest, and strongest men in the kingdom. Rightly or wrongly, their relations were looked upon with suspicion and jealousy by the king. At a council held at Jerusalem, Hugh's son-in-law, Walter, Count of Cæsarea, accused him of the crime of *lèse-majesté*; it is said that the accusation was made at the king's own instigation. The barons, having heard the charge, summoned Hugh to try the cause by ordeal of battle, but the latter failed to appear on the appointed day; he was judged guilty in default, and the king marched against him. In response, Hugh hastened to Ascalon and concluded there an alliance with the Moslems, who promised to harass the country whilst he himself would defend Jaffa against the king. He then returned to Jaffa, closed its gates, and prepared himself to sustain a long siege, declaring that he was determined to resist to the last. His energetic attitude did not fail to make an impression on the king, who could not afford to have civil war so close to his capital. He opened negotiations, with the result that Count Hugh promised to suffer exile for three years. He accompanied the king to

Jerusalem, to prepare himself for his departure. One day, while playing dice in the street, he was stabbed by a Breton knight, and left for dead. He was, however, cured of his wounds, and was sent to Sicily, where he died.¹

During the reign of King Fulke, we find for the first time Frenchmen engaged in the Jaffa trade; for, he is stated to have given to the merchants of Marseilles a yearly sum equivalent to £140, from the customs revenue of Jaffa;² and, in the autumn of 1152, king Baldwin III, when preparing himself for the conquest of Ascalon, concluded an alliance with them and promised them, amongst other privileges, freedom of trade in the whole of Palestine.

In August, 1153, Ascalon was at last captured by the Christians; and in the following year this city was given by the king to his brother Amaury, Count of Jaffa,³ by an act which constituted the County of Jaffa and Ascalon.

During the second half of the twelfth century, the trade of Jaffa reached a very high degree of prosperity, chiefly thanks to the energy and resourcefulness of the Pisan merchants. By an act dated at Ascalon on the 2nd of June, 1157, Count Amaury granted them in Jaffa, with the approval of the king, his brother, a large site suitable for the establishment of a bazaar, a street for building houses, and a site for a church. At the same time he reduced by half the customs duties to be paid on all goods imported or exported by them at Jaffa.

¹ Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 98.—Also Besant and Palmer, *op. cit.*, pp. 291-292.

² Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 209.

³ Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, p. 114.

⁴ Rey, *Les Familles d'Outremer*, p. 340.

⁵ Schaube, *op. cit.*, p. 136.—Also Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 342.

King Baldwin III having died in 1162, Amaury became king of Jerusalem; his reign lasted eleven years, and he was himself succeeded on the throne by his son, Baldwin IV.

The attitude of cruel intolerance displayed by the Crusaders towards the Jews is well-known, and is, besides, sufficiently illustrated by the massacres of Jews which they carried out, both on their journeys through the various countries of Europe and in Jerusalem itself. When, after the occupation of Jaffa by Godfrey of Bouillon, in 1099, the previous population of the city began to return to their homes, the Crusaders appear to have forbidden the return of the Jewish inhabitants; indeed, during the first seventy years of the Christian occupation of the town, we have no indication of the existence of a Jewish community there, and when, in 1170, the famous Jewish traveller Benjamin of Tudela passed through Jaffa, he found there one Jew only, a dyer.¹ From that date onward, the Jewish population seems to have rapidly increased in numbers, seeing that Jewish artisans are mentioned as having practically the monopoly of the manufacture of enamelled pottery and glass, which became one of the chief objects of export from Jaffa to Italy and southern France from the year 1200 onwards.²

In 1175, William, Marquess of Montferrat, arrived from France at the invitation of king Baldwin IV, and, having married the king's sister Sybil, was given the County of Jaffa and Ascalon.

¹ *The Travels of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela, A.D. 1160-1173*, in *Early Travels in Palestine*, edited by Thomas Wright, London, 1848, p. 87.

² Rey, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie aux XII^e et XIII^e siècles*, Paris, 1883, p. 211-212.

He died in 1177, leaving his wife with child. After the birth of the latter, a boy, who was named Baldwin, Sybil married Guy of Lusignan, who in this manner succeeded William of Montferrat as Count of Jaffa and Ascalon.¹ In 1183, king Baldwin IV renounced the crown of Jerusalem in favour of his five-years'-old nephew Baldwin, and appointed Guy de Lusignan to be Protector of the Realm during his stepson's minority. But shortly afterwards the king revoked this latter act, and appointed Raymond, Count of Tripoli, as Protector; whereupon Guy left the Court in discontent, went home, and prepared his cities of Jaffa and Ascalon to resist the king's new decision.² No armed conflict took place; but when Baldwin IV had actually installed his little nephew in his place on the throne, the child, after a reign of eight months and eight days, was, in 1185, poisoned by his mother, Sybil, in order that her husband, Guy, might get possession of the Crown in her right, and the child's death was kept secret till Guy, by large bribes to the Templars and the Patriarch, Heraclius, had secured his coronation.³ His reign, however, was only to be a very short one: he had hardly been on the throne for about a year, when Saladin invaded Palestine.

Saladin (Salah ed-Din), the sworn enemy of the Christians, but one of the most chivalrous soldiers known to history, was a Sunni of Khurdish origin. As wezir of the Fatimid khalif El-Adid, he had, in 1169, with great difficulty, beaten off an attack on

¹ Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, pp. 342-343.

² Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy War*, Cambridge, 1639, p. 101.

³ Thomas Fuller, *The Historie of the Holy War*, Cambridge, 1639, p. 102.

Damietta by the combined fleets of the king of Jerusalem and the emperor of Byzantium. In 1170, he retaliated by plundering Gaza and by capturing the port of Aila (Akabah). His ambition was, from an early date, the re-establishment of Moslem rule in Palestine; and when, on El-Adid's death, in 1171, he had made himself sole ruler of Egypt, he began to prepare for this ambitious programme. The sultan of Syria, Nûr-ed-Din, having died in 1174, Saladin, with only 700 picked horsemen, rode across the desert to Damascus and took possession of it. Beaten by Baldwin IV in 1177 at Gezer, he in turn defeated the king of Jerusalem in Galilee in the summer 1179, whilst his fleet, composed of seventy vessels, harassed the coast of Palestine. In the spring of 1180, he made a new advance by land and sea, but king Baldwin proposed a truce, which was concluded for two years. In 1182, Saladin conquered Mesopotamia and the remaining parts of northern Syria. All the countries surrounding Palestine were now united in his hand, and he was only waiting for a suitable pretext to embark upon the Holy War. The required pretext was furnished by Reginald of Châtillon, lord of Kerak, who, in spite of a four years' truce concluded with Saladin, in 1184, by Raymond of Tripoli as Regent on behalf of the infant king Baldwin V, attacked, in 1186, a peaceful caravan of merchants in which the sister of Saladin was travelling. The following spring, Saladin delivered his long-deferred attack. On July 4th, he inflicted a crushing defeat on the Franks at Hattin, near Tiberias, the king Guy of Lusignan himself being made prisoner. Before the end of the month, most of the maritime cities

were in Saladin's power, Jaffa having surrendered without fighting to his brother El-Melek el-Adel Seif-ed-Din ("the noble Saphadin"); on the 2nd of October the conquest of the whole country was completed by the capitulation of Jerusalem. Tyre alone resisted successfully under the leadership of Conrad of Montferrat. In order to win new allies, the latter granted the Pisans, in October, 1187, new privileges not only at Tyre but also at Jaffa and Acco in case they would help him to recover these two cities. For Jaffa, these privileges comprised : new grants of houses in the vicinity of the port, new ovens and baths;¹ the possession of the castle and garden of the Patriarch; the right to use their own weights and measures; the right to have at the city-gates and in the bazaar their own controllers authorized to supervise the royal revenue officials in their dealings with Pisan merchants and to prevent the latter from being unfairly treated; exemption for all Pisan citizens living in the Pisan quarter from any taxes whatsoever, and for those Pisans living outside the Pisan quarter proper (*extra honorem Pisani Comunis*), from all taxes except the "talia" destined to be used exclusively in the interest of the city-quarter concerned; Pisan autonomous consuls or *vicecomites* to be given charge of the administration of all communal affairs and of justice in the Pisan quarter, with jurisdiction

¹ " 1187 Octob., ind. VI. *Tyri in domo Hospitalis. Corradus marchio in praesencia et consensu supra dictorum Pisanis, si Dei auxilio Joppe a christianis recepta fuerit, in eadem civitate omnes domos, quas antea habuerunt, et etiam usque ad portam portus ex utraque parte viae et balnea et furnos, quae habuit et tenuit Lambertus de Joppen Pisani, necnon casale Patriarchae et hortum, qui fuit Gisilberti castellani, et eadem privilegia, quae Pisanis Tyri constitutis dederat, concedit et sigillo confirmat.*" (*Regesta Regni Hierosolymitani MXCVII-MCCXCI*, edidit Reinhold Röhricht, *Oeniponti* 1893, p. 178).

over Pisan nationals in all cases other than grave crimes against non-Pisans or matters of feudal law, which had to come before the royal courts.¹

Tyre now became the rallying point of the Franks. Thither flocked the garrisons whom Saladin had set free after the capitulation of the fortresses; thither also came king Guy and most of his nobles and knights who, having been made prisoners by Saladin, had been released on *parole*. They, however, immediately broke their word,² assembled their forces, and laid siege to Acco on 28th August, 1189; two days later, the besiegers were themselves besieged by Saladin. This strange situation lasted two years, during which the Franks received new reinforcements on several occasions; in August, 1190, Henry of Champagne landed with 10,000 men; in October, the Duke Frederick of Swabia brought about 1,000 men who were all that remained of the fine army of the emperor Barbarossa drowned in Armenia; in October, arrived also an English fleet; in April, 1191, arrived the French contingent of the third Crusade, under king Philip Augustus; and on the 8th of June the British contingent under Richard Cœur-de-Lion.³ Thanks to these reinforcements the attack could now be pressed with all vigour both inwards and outwards, and on July 12th, Acco surrendered. At once the kings of England and of France began to quarrel as to who should be king over what remained of the kingdom of Jerusalem: Conrad of Montferrat, supported by Philip, or Guy of Lusignan, backed by Richard.

¹ Schaubé, *op. cit.*, pp. 169-170.

² Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 209.

³ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, pp. 209-210.

On the 27th or 28th of July they concluded an agreement to the effect that Guy should remain king for life, and that Conrad should be his successor, also that Guy's brother, Geoffrey of Lusignan, known as Geoffrey with the Big Tooth, should have for himself and his heirs the Counties of Jaffa and Cæsarea.¹ Three days after this decision, Philip Augustus began his return to France, leaving Richard alone to prosecute the war.

In the meantime, as soon as Acco had fallen, Saladin, seeing part of his army destroyed, whereas that of the Franks had become stronger than ever, realized that for the present he could do nothing except remain on the defensive, and keep all his remaining troops together. In the circumstances, it was clear that he would not be able to prevent the enemy from taking possession of the maritime cities. He, therefore, evacuated these towns, after having had their walls completely destroyed. This was done at Cæsarea, Ascalon, Gaza and Jaffa;² in the last-mentioned place even the private houses were demolished.

Saladin then concluded peace with Richard. But the latter, exasperated by some delay in the carrying-out of the stipulations regarding the surrender of Christian prisoners, massacred in cold blood, on the 16th of August, 2,700 Moslem prisoners in sight of the two camps.³ Saladin retaliated by a similar treatment of his own prisoners. Peace had now become impossible. Richard, his rear constantly harassed by Saladin,

¹ Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 344.

² Jacques de Vitry, *The History of Jerusalem*, P.P.T.S., London, 1896, p. 113.

³ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 210.

marched down the coast with the intention of establishing a new base at Jaffa, and of attacking from there Ascalon and Jerusalem. On the 7th of September he defeated Saladin at Arsuf and forced him to retire into the mountains of Judea; on the 10th of September, when the English infantry reached Jaffa, they found the town in such a ruined state that they could not find lodgings in it. The army, therefore, encamped outside the walls "in an olive garden on the left side of the town . . and refreshed themselves with abundance of fruits, figs, grapes, pomegranates, and citrons, produced by the country around."¹ Richard at once began to rebuild the walls and the towers, and to clear out the moat.² A few days after his arrival at Jaffa, a small fleet from England brought thither the two queens: Richard's wife Berengaria, and his sister Joan, widow of King William of Sicily, who had just died. During his quarrel with Philip Augustus at Acco, Richard had been energetically supported by the Pisan merchants, who had, moreover, given him considerable financial assistance; in return for all these services he now, after his arrival at Jaffa, by an act of October, 1191, confirmed again the privileges which they had been granted in the past.³

Previous to the departure of his army from England, Richard had issued an order by which no one was allowed to take with him on the pilgrimage any woman other than a washerwoman against whom there could be no suspicion. Similarly, on

¹ Geoffrey de Vinsauf's *Chronicle of Richard the First's Crusade*, in Bohn's *Chronicles of the Crusades*, London, 1914, pp. 246-247.

² *Id.*, p. 248.

³ Schäube, *op. cit.*, p. 171.

leaving Acco for Jaffa, he issued a new order compelling all the dissolute women, who had found means of joining the army, to stay behind at Acco; once more only the washerwomen were allowed to accompany the army. Notwithstanding this prohibition, as soon as the army was encamped in the gardens of Jaffa, the women appeared in large numbers, spread themselves through the camp, and made it the theatre of the most shameless immorality,¹ which, together with the prolonged inactivity of the autumn and winter, soon undermined the men's discipline.

Two attempts to march on Jerusalem, one in January and the other in June, 1192, brought Richard actually in sight of the Holy City, but, in each case, the undertaking had to be abandoned half-way, partly on account of dissensions among the Crusaders themselves, partly by reason of the increased strength of Saladin's army. After the second failure in June, Richard lost heart, and, as grave news was arriving from England, he retired with most of his troops to Acco and began to make preparations for a voyage home. Shortly after his arrival at Acco, he decided to proceed to Beyrut. Saladin, on being informed of this decision, determined to take advantage of the opportunity to make a dash upon Jaffa. His forces had just been considerably increased by the arrival of important contingents of fresh troops under the emirs of Aleppo, Mesopotamia and Egypt; whilst Jaffa had only about 3,000 Christian defenders left.²

Leaving Jerusalem with all his forces on Thursday, 23rd of July, he encamped before Jaffa

¹ Prutz, *op. cit.*, p. 125.—Also Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *op. cit.*, p. 248.

² M. V. Guérin, *La Judée*, Vol. I, p. 19.

shortly before noon on Tuesday, 28th. His army was drawn up in three divisions, surrounding the town on all sides: the right and left wing, commanded respectively by El-Melek ez-Zâher and El-Melek el-Adel, rested on the sea, the Sultan himself being in the centre.

As soon as the people of Jaffa had been informed of Saladin's approach and his intentions, Alberic of Reims, whom Richard had left in charge of the city as governor, sent at once a swift ship to Acco to call the king back.

On Wednesday morning, 29th July, the attack was begun, with the help of two mangonels (stone-throwing engines) trained on the weakest part of the walls, close to the eastern gate; at the same time, miners were set to sink a mine under the same eastern wall, in the angle of the curtain adjoining the first tower to the north of the east gate. But the garrison fought with great energy, and, towards evening, as the miners were just finishing their mine, the besieged succeeded in destroying it in several places. During the night, Saladin had the mine repaired and continued, so that it reached over the whole length of the section of the wall from the tower to the east gate, and he had also a new mangonel constructed.

On the next morning, Thursday, he brought all his three mangonels to bear on the portion of the wall which had been undermined. Alberic of Reims and the Patriarch of Jaffa, seeing that, if the attack was continued, the city would be taken before king Richard could possibly arrive with help, sent two envoys to Saladin to start negotiations for peace.¹ Saladin consented to receive the surrender

¹ Rey, *Les Familles d'Outremer*, p. 345.

of the city on the same conditions as those which he had exacted at the capitulation of Jerusalem : the Christians should pay ten dinârs for every man, five for every woman, and two for every child, and those who could not pay were to become prisoners.¹ The Christians accepted these conditions, and asked for a two days' armistice, until Saturday, on which day they would carry out the terms of the treaty, if by that time they had not received assistance. Saladin refused to agree to this delay, and fighting was resumed. The mine having been completed, it was filled with combustibles ; these were set on fire, and the wall was brought down over half the distance from the east gate northward to the next tower. But the men of the garrison had accumulated large heaps of dry wood behind the whole section of the wall under which Saladin's miners had been at work. As soon as the wall gave way, they set fire to the wood, and the flames prevented the Moslems from effecting an entrance through the breach, in spite of all their efforts renewed without interruption until the dark put an end to the fighting. During the night, Saladin gave orders to increase the number of mangonels to five.

On Friday morning, 31st, all the mangonels had been set up, and a great quantity of stones collected, to be hurled from these engines. They were brought into play on the remaining part of the wall which had been undermined. "The Sultan himself, as well as his son El-Melek ez-Zâher, took an active part in the attack, whilst El-Melek el-Adel, at the head of the troops of the left wing, attacked the city on the opposite side. El-Adel was ill at the time. Then a mighty shout was raised, the

¹ Besant and Palmer, *op. cit.*, p. 431.

drums sounded, the trumpets blared, the mangonels hurled their stones. . . The miners were actively engaged in setting fire to the mines, and the day had hardly reached its second hour, when the wall fell with a fall like the end of all things. . . A cloud of dust and smoke arose from the fallen wall, that darkened the heavens and hid the light of day, and none dared to enter the breach and face the fire. But when the cloud dispersed, and disclosed the wall of halberds and lances replacing the one that had just fallen, and closing the breach so effectually that even the eye could not penetrate within, then indeed we beheld a terrifying sight—the spectacle of the enemy's unwavering constancy, as they stood undaunted, unflinching, self-controlled in every moment.”¹ Whilst his men continued the defence in such heroic manner, Alberic of Reims himself fled on board a ship and tried to escape; but “his companions, reproaching him for his cowardice, recalled him to a sense of duty, and absolutely forced him into one of the towers.”² At last it was decided to make a new attempt to gain some time by reopening negotiations, and once more two envoys were sent to Saladin. His conditions were that “knight should be exchanged for (Moslem) horseman, Turkopole for light-armed soldier; and that the old people should pay the ransom paid by those at Jerusalem.”³ The envoys accepted these terms, but asked for a one day’s armistice, after the expiration of which the surrender would take place. Saladin refused to suspend the attack on the city-walls, saying that he could not stop his soldiers

¹ Beha ed-Din, *The Life of Saladin*, P.P.T.S., London, 1897, pp. 364-36.

² Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *op. cit.*, p. 313.

³ Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *op. cit.*, p. 365.

from fighting, but that, if the Christians would at once retire into the citadel and abandon the town to his men, he would wait twenty-four hours for the surrender of the citadel itself. The envoys agreed, and returned to Jaffa : the Christians abandoned the breach, and the Moslems spread through the town, taking an enormous booty, massacring the inhabitants, smashing the wine-barrels, killing all the pigs they could get hold of, and in their fury throwing on one heap "the bodies of the pigs together with the bodies of the Christians whom they had slain."¹

On receiving the news of Saladin's descent upon Jaffa, King Richard, who was on the point of embarking for Beyrut, gave up this project and decided at once to hasten to the relief of the besieged city. Henry of Champagne, with fifty-five knights, mostly mounted on mules, hurried south by land; whilst Richard himself and his English infantry went by sea, but were delayed three days at Haifa by contrary winds. The news of their departure from Acco was brought on Friday afternoon to Saladin, who at once determined to obtain at all costs the surrender of the citadel before Richard could come to its assistance. But the garrison stuck to their delay of twenty-four hours, and Saladin's troops, exhausted from the fighting, the massacre and the pillage, had become incapable of disciplined action; and so the matter had to be postponed to the following day.

At daybreak on Saturday, 1st of August, Henry of Champagne arrived with his handful of knights, penetrated into the city, and joined the defenders in

¹ Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *op. cit.*, p. 319.

the citadel.¹ During the night the English fleet had also arrived at last, and Saladin at once sent down a strong force to the shore, to oppose the landing. But those on board made no attempt to leave their ships. In the morning, the garrison in the citadel thought that the people in the ships were afraid to land on account of the presence of the enemy on the shore. They, therefore, decided to create a diversion which would draw the enemy away from the sea. Led by Henry of Champagne, they sallied forth from the citadel and began massacring all the Moslems whom they found in the city. Saladin sent troops to the rescue, and the Christians were driven back into the citadel. Still no sign of activity was shown on the part of the fleet. The reason was that Richard, misled by the sight of the Moslem banners flying everywhere over the city, believed that the citadel itself was already taken. “The noise of the waves, the yells of the combatants, and the shouts of the *tahlīl* and *takbīr* (‘There is but one God! God is great!’), prevented those on board from hearing their own countrymen’s calls.”² At last the men in the citadel understood the reason of the fleet’s inaction; thereupon one of the garrison jumped down from the citadel on to the sands, where he came down unhurt, ran to the edge of the water and got into a galley, which put out for him, and which put him on board the king’s galley. As soon as Richard heard that the citadel was still holding out, he made all speed for the shore, his own galley, which was painted red and had its deck covered with a red awning, being the first to land the men on board.³ The king himself

¹ Rey, *Les Familles d’Outremer*, p. 345.

² Beha ed-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

³ Beha ed-Din, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

at their head, " dashed forward into the waves with his thighs unprotected by armour, and up to his middle in the water; he soon gained firm footing on the dry strand : behind him followed . . . all the others rushing through the waves. The Turks stood to defend the shore, which was covered with their numerous troops. The king, with an arbalest which he held in his hand, drove them back right and left ; his companions pressed upon the recoiling enemy, whose courage quailed when they saw it was the king, and they no longer dared to meet him. The king brandished his fierce sword, which allowed them no time to resist, but they yield before his fiery blows, and are driven in confusion with blood and havoc by the king's men until the shore is entirely cleared of them. Then they brought together beams, poles, and wood, from the old ships and galleys, to make a barricade ; and the king placed there some knights, servants, and arbalesters, to keep guard and to dislodge the Turks, who, seeing that they could no longer oppose our troops, dispersed themselves on the shore with cries and howlings in one general flight. The king then, by a winding chair, which he had remarked in the house of the Templars, was the first to enter the town, where he found more than 3,000 Turks turning over everything in the houses, and carrying away the spoil. The brave king had no sooner entered the town, than he caused his banners to be hoisted on an eminence, that they might be seen by the Christians in the tower (citadel), who taking courage at the sight, rushed forth in arms from the tower to meet the king, and at the report thereof the Turks were thrown into confusion. The king, meanwhile, with brandished sword, still pursued

and slaughtered the enemy, who were thus enclosed between the two bodies of the Christians, and filled the streets with their slain. . . . All were slain, except such as took to flight in time. . . . When the Turks leaving the town saw his banners floating in the air, a cry was raised on right and left as he sallied forth upon them . . . and no hailstorm or tempest ever so densely concealed the sky as it was then darkened by the flying arrows of the Turks."¹

The panic amongst the Moslems was complete. Saladin, unable to rally his forces, retired to Yazur, his men abandoning most of the booty they had made in the pillage of Jaffa. Outside the city, meanwhile, "the bodies of the Christians were now buried in peace, whilst those of the Turks were in turn cast out to rot with those of the swine."² The next three days were spent by the king in repairing the breach in the walls.³

On the very evening of his victory, Richard initiated new peace negotiations, and, on the 2nd of September, a truce of three years and eight months was signed at Ramleh, by which it was agreed that Ascalon should be dismantled, that Jaffa and the plains up to the mountains should be left in the hands of the Christians, that Christian pilgrims should be permitted to visit the holy places at Jerusalem, and that Christian merchants should enjoy the right of free trade in Palestine.

Early in August, Richard had been taken seriously ill. It is related by one of his biographers that whilst he was confined to his bed with a high fever, "word was brought to him that the Duke of

¹ Geoffrey de Vinsauf, *op. cit.*, pp. 313-318.

² *Id.*, p. 319.

³ *Id.*, p. 320.

Burgundy (who had refused to join him in going to the rescue of Jaffa) was taken dangerously ill at Acre. The day was the day for the king's fever to take its turn, and through his delight at this report, it left him. The king immediately with uplifted hands imprecated a curse upon him, saying : ' May God destroy him, for he would not destroy the enemies of our faith with me, although he had long served in my pay.' On the third day, the duke died."¹ A few days after the peace was concluded, Richard sailed away from Jaffa, leaving Palestine for ever.

In October, Geoffrey de Lusignan similarly returned to France, whereupon the County of Jaffa reverted to his brother Amaury who had already held it once before him, from the hands of Queen Sybil and king Guy, during the last year preceding the capture of Jaffa by El-Melek el-Adel in 1187. In 1194, Amaury having been chosen king of Cyprus, the County of Jaffa was taken from him by Henry of Champagne who had become king of Jerusalem since 1192; but already in the following year the king returned it to him as the dowry of his daughter Alix who was to be married to Amaury's son Hugh.²

The same year 1195, the emperor Henry VI took the cross. Aided by the dukes of Saxony and Brabant, he collected an army of 60,000 men, the first contingent of which, under the bishop of Würzburg, arrived at Acco in September, 1197. Their interference in Palestine affairs was strongly

¹ *Chronicle of Richard of Devizes, concerning the Deeds of King Richard the First, King of England* (in Bohn's *Chronicles of the Crusades*, London, 1914), p. 56.

² Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 346.

disliked by the French barons of Henry of Champagne, and so the Germans found themselves acting alone. Without waiting for the arrival of the Saxons and Brabanters, who had been delayed on the sea journey, they advanced into the mountains of Nablus, only to be defeated by El-Melek el-Adel (who succeeded his brother Saladin at the latter's death in 1193). El-Adel at once laid siege to Jaffa. Amaury sent from Cyprus a certain Renaud Barlais as governor into the besieged city; but he proved utterly incapable.¹ The garrison, under his leadership, made a sortie, and fell into an ambush; the Moslems made themselves masters of the city. The walls were razed, and 20,000 Christians are said to have been put to the sword.² Defeated in his turn a few months later by the Saxons and the Brabanters, El-Adel was unable to prevent the Germans from re-occupying Jaffa. They rebuilt the walls and prepared themselves for a long stay; but in the following year on receiving the news of their emperor's death, they returned home, leaving only a small garrison behind them in Jaffa. On the 11th of November, 1198, the latter were celebrating the feast of St. Martin when, in the midst of an orgy of drunkenness and debauchery, they were surprised by the Moslems and massacred.³ This was the end of the fourth (German) Crusade.

In 1204, the armies of the fifth Crusade landed in the Delta and penetrated as far as the Rosetta branch of the Nile, massacring the inhabitants everywhere. El-Adel, who was weakened by inner quarrels of his family, was unable to repel the

¹ Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 346.

² Munk, *Palestine*, p. 632.

³ Michaud, *Histoire des Croisades*, Vol. II, p. 68.—Also Guérin, *Judée*, p. 20.

invaders by force of arms, and concluded with them a treaty by which Jaffa was once more returned to the Christians.¹

In 1227, Walter of Brienne in Champagne being Count of Jaffa,² the emperor Frederick II, the originator and leader of the seventh Crusade, arrived in Palestine. He had married, in 1225, Yolande de Brienne, the daughter of the titular king of Jerusalem John de Brienne,³ emperor of Constantinople, and a cousin of the Count of Jaffa. He brought with him only six hundred knights, being determined to achieve his objects by negotiation. On the 20th of February, 1229, he concluded with El-Adel's successor, El-Kâmil, a truce of ten years and ten months, by which Jerusalem (except the Haram), Bethlehem, Nazareth, and the pilgrim road from Jerusalem to Jaffa were surrendered to Frederick as King of Jerusalem, who was also confirmed in the possession of Jaffa.⁴ In 1228, he had spent several months at Jaffa, and had begun to repair its walls,⁵ to which two new towers were added in 1229 or 1230 by the Patriarch of Jerusalem, who had consecrated the emperor as king of Jerusalem. During the latter part of 1228 the emperor had discontinued the work because he had found that it constituted a serious obstacle in his peace negotiations with the Sultan.⁶ It is either to the repair of the walls or to the construction of these

¹ Cl. Huart, *Geschichte der Araber*, 1915, Vol. II, p. 21.—Also Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 218.

² Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 347.

³ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 225.

⁴ Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 227.—Also Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 312-313.

⁵ Guérin, *La Judée*, p. 20.

⁶ Dominique Jauna, *Histoire Générale des Royaumes de Chypre, de Jérusalem, d'Arménie, et d'Egypte*, Leiden, 1747, Book X, ch. iii.

towers that the fragment of an inscribed marble block, which was found some fifty years ago, serving as cover to a sewer in one of the streets of Jaffa, appears to belong (fig. 10). The inscription is very

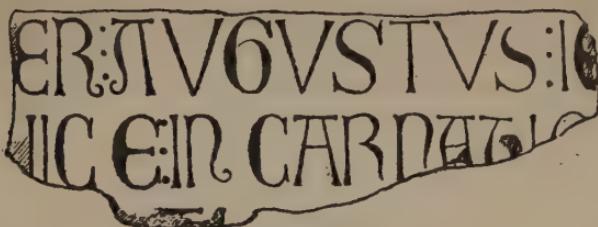


FIGURE 10

defective. There are only two imperfect lines left, together with the remains of a third one. The following restoration has been suggested :—¹

Fredericus, Romanorum imperator semp er
Augustus, I erusalem rex, etc.
. . . anno domin ice incarnati onis . . .
. .

In 1233, the Count of Jaffa, Walter of Brienne, married Mary, a daughter of Hugh I, king of Cyprus, and of Alix of Jerusalem.²

In 1244, Palestine was invaded by the Kharezmians, a wild Turkish people originating in the steppes east of the Caspian Sea, whose assistance had been invited against Damascus by the sultan of Egypt. They came down in hordes, captured Jerusalem, and pillaged the maritime plain. To oppose them, the sultan of Damascus, El-Melek

¹ Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, London, 1896, Vol. II, pp. 155-156.

² Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 348.

el-Mansûr, concluded an alliance with the Christians, and together they marched south to meet the Kharezmians who were then encamped near Gaza. On their way thither the allied army rested under the walls of Jaffa, and the barons asked Walter of Brienne, the Count of Jaffa, to march with them. The Count had been, some time previously, excommunicated by the Patriarch for having refused to surrender to him one of the towers of the fortress, called the Tower of the Patriarch (probably one of those built by him in 1229 or 1230), which this prelate claimed as his property. To the entreaties of the barons, Walter replied that he would gladly join them if only the Patriarch would absolve him from the excommunication. The Patriarch, however, refused to do so; Walter nevertheless marched with the barons against the Kharezmians.¹ In a two days' battle at Gaza the army of the Christians and the Damascenes was defeated, in October, 1244. Walter of Brienne was made a prisoner, and the Kharezmians brought him to Jaffa, which they besieged. As the siege was prolonging itself, they hung the Count by the arms to a gallows opposite the city walls, and called out to the people of Jaffa that they would not take him down until the town surrendered. Walter, however, exhorted his people never to surrender the city, no matter what the enemy would do to him.² The Kharezmians, baffled in their purpose, withdrew and took the Count with them to Cairo, where he was murdered by the mob. They later quarrelled

¹ Joinville's *Chronicle of the Crusade of St. Lewis*, in *Memoirs of the Crusades*, Everyman's Library, London, 1921, p. 268.

² *Id.*, p. 270.

with their allies, and retired to Asia Minor, leaving Palestine under the rule of the sultans of Egypt.

The news of the Kharezmian invasion prompted the king of France, Louis IX (Saint-Louis) to undertake his Crusade. He left Europe in 1248, stayed the winter in Cyprus, and invaded Egypt in the spring 1249. Defeated there in April, 1250, and made prisoner, he was released against payment of a heavy ransom, and concluded with the sultan of Egypt a treaty by which the Christians of Palestine were left in possession of several maritime cities, including Jaffa.

The County of Jaffa was now given by the king of Cyprus to John of Ibelin; there is still in existence a letter of the pope Innocent IV, dated 26th March, 1252, confirming this donation.¹ The Count took an active part in the composition of the famous treatise of Laws known as the "Assizes of Jerusalem," which mentions as the author of some of its most important sections "John of Ybelin, Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, and lord of Rames (Ramleh.)" He had married Mary, daughter of Constant, regent of Armenia, and of Etienne, the first wife of Hugh I, king of Cyprus.²

Saint Louis landed at Acco in May, 1250, went to Cæsarea, which he fortified, and then proceeded to Jaffa. The town was then without walls, the only fortifications in existence being those of the citadel itself. At the news of the king's impending arrival, the Count of Jaffa decorated the citadel in his honour. "At each of the battlements—of which there were full five hundred—he set a shield, with his arms, and a pennon; and this thing was fair to

¹ Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 348.

² *Id.*, p. 351.

see, for his arms were *or* with a cross *gules patté*.¹ The French army was encamped in the gardens surrounding the town, and king Louis at once set himself to rebuild its walls, taking part himself in the work in order to gain the indulgence which had been promised to him by the Church for this meritorious work.² He did not rest until the walls were completed all around the town and down to the sea shore both north and south of it. Twenty-four towers were built into the walls; and the ditch was cleaned out and its sides strengthened by being puddled with loam. We have no record of the sums spent by Saint Louis on these fortifications; but we are told by Joinville, an eye-witness, that one tower and the adjoining portion of the wall which were built by the Patriarch, cost this prelate about thirty thousand livres. At this rate the whole wall with its twenty-four towers and the ditch must have cost close on a million livres,³ or about £1,000,000 of our money. He also founded at Jaffa the convent of the Cordeliers⁴ (the French Franciscans), and caused them to build a church.⁵ It was during her stay in Jaffa with the king, that the queen, Margaret of Provence, gave birth to a daughter, named Blanche. Immediately after the queen's confinement, King Louis went to Saida, the queen following him thither a few weeks later. This was towards the end of 1253. Early in 1254, the news arrived of the death of the king's mother, Blanche of Castile, who had acted as regent in his absence, whereupon he returned to France.

¹ Joinville, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

² *Id.*, p. 265.

³ *Id.*, p. 277.

⁴ Rey, *Les Colonies Franques de Syrie aux XIIème et XIIIème Siècles*, Paris, 1883, p. 411.

⁵ Clermont-Ganneau, in P.E.F.Q.S., 1874, p. 274.

In the spring, 1260, Syria and Palestine were invaded and the Ayoubid sultanate of Damascus abolished by the Tatar tribes under Hulagu, the khan of Persia. Bibars, the general-in-chief of the Egyptian sultan Kotuz, met them on the Egyptian frontier, drove them back, defeated them in September on the plain of Esdraelon, and occupied Damascus. On his return home a few months later, he took a leading part in the assassination of Kotuz, and became sultan of Egypt in his stead. Once again, as in the time of Saladin, the Franks were surrounded on all sides by countries united in the hands of a devout Moslem, determined to expel the Christians from Palestine; but, unlike Saladin, Bibars was cruel and fanatical, and resolved not to stop half-way in the execution of his programme.

John of Ibelin had concluded some years previously a truce with En-Nâsir, the last Ayoubid sultan of Damascus; in 1261, Bibars, in a personal interview with the Count of Jaffa, confirmed this truce, and observed it until the Count's death (which occurred in 1266), notwithstanding the almost annual campaigns which he waged against the Christians in Palestine during the whole period from 1261 onwards. By the end of 1267 he had conquered the whole of Palestine with the exception of Acco and Jaffa, and destroyed most of the maritime cities, in order to prevent future enemies from using them as landing-places. On the 7th of March, 1268,¹ he at last attacked Jaffa, and carried it in one day; he expelled the population, and razed the whole town: the walls, the houses, and the citadel. The fine marbles derived from the

¹ Clermont-Ganneau, in P.E.F.Q.S., 1874, p. 271.

demolition of the houses¹ were transported by ship to Egypt, and were used to decorate the mosques of Cairo², and especially the new mosque built by Bibars during the years 1267-1269.³

In 1291, Bibars' grandson Khalil captured Acco, the last stronghold of the Christians, and thereby made an end of the Latin kingdom of Jerusalem.

The "County of Jaffa" did not cease to exist, as a title, with the destruction of the town and the disappearance of the Latin kingdom. Hugh d'Ibelin, Count of Jaffa and Ascalon, Seigneur of Rama and Seneschal of Jerusalem, is known to have married in 1338 Isabella d'Ibelin, widow of Ferdinand of Majorca.⁴ In the seventies of the fifteenth century, Caterina Cornaro, the Venetian wife of James de Lusignan, king of Cyprus, and after his death "queen of Cyprus, Jerusalem and Armenia," invested with the Countship of Jaffa a Venetian patrician of the family of Contarini.⁵ The Contarini dallo Zaffo or di Giaffo became one of the most important branches of this family; more than a century later, the title was still in existence at Venice,⁶ and, in 1644, the Counts of Jaffa are found

¹ Of the beauty of the buildings of the time it is possible to form an idea by the description which an Arab traveller wrote of Ramleh, already two centuries earlier: "In the city of Ramleh there is marble in plenty, and most of the buildings and private houses are of this material; and, further, the surface thereof they do most beautifully sculpture and ornament. . . . The marbles that I saw here were of all colours, some variegated, some green, red, black and white." (Nâsir-i-Khusrau's *Diary of a Journey through Syria and Palestine in A.D. 1047*, P.P.T.S., London, 1893, pp. 21-22.)

² Lane-Poole, *op. cit.*, p. 268.

³ Makrizi, quoted by Ernst Diez, *Die Kunst der Islamischen Völker*, Berlin, 1915, p. 58.

⁴ Ludolph von Suchem's *Description of the Holy Land* (1350), P.P.T.S., London, p. 49.

⁵ *Encyclopædic Britannica*, article "Contarini."

⁶ Kootwijk, *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum*, Antwerp, 1619, Book II, ch. i, p. 136.

at Cyprus among the noble families "that are still existing in the country since the time of the kings."¹

The period of the Latin kingdom had been one of great commercial and agricultural prosperity for the coastal towns and plain, and especially for Jaffa, which remained the principal commercial and military port of the country as long as the Christians kept possession of Jerusalem; in later times, when Jerusalem was lost, Acco became the chief military port, but, commercially, Jaffa kept the first rank, both for the traffic of goods and for that of the pilgrims.

The Count of Jaffa had the right to keep a court, to coin money, and to dispense justice.² There were two courts of justice: the Court of Burgesses (*Cour de Bourgeoisie*), to judge the townsmen and Franks not of gentle birth, and a native Court under a *rais*, or native "head" with a council or jury of twelve natives. In later times, on account of the corruption prevalent in this native Court, it had to be abolished and was replaced by the *Cour de la Fonde*, which judged chiefly commercial cases, and which was composed of four natives and two Franks.³ Court of the Chain (*Cour de la Chaîne*), from the chains which closed the harbour, was the name given to the customs house; its native name *diwân* gave origin to the French *douane*. In its precincts as well as in those of the *fonde*, which was a sort of exchange, the merchants came together and treated of their businesses.⁴

The city was divided into two parts: the high-

¹ Christoph Fuerers von Haimendorff, *Reis-Beschreibung in Egypten, Arabien, Palästinam, Syrien, etc.*, Nürnberg, 1646, p. 308.

² Rey, *Familles d'Outremer*, p. 352.

³ Conder, *Latin Kingdom*, pp. 172-173.

⁴ Rey, *Colonies Franques*, pp. 189-192.

town, which was represented by the Castle or Citadel, and the new-town or Newburgh (*Bourg-Neuf*). Within the enclosure of the citadel were situated the church of St. Peter, and the two chapels of the Holy Cross and of St. Lawrence.¹

The port was never considered safe, and when the Venetians began to frequent Jaffa regularly, they built a mole, of which the remains were still visible in the eighteenth century.² Jaffa was generally the last port visited by the European trading vessels on their tour in the Levant; here they used to stay a sufficient time to allow the pilgrims to visit Jerusalem, after which they would leave on their return voyage straight for Italy, France, or England. Single ships would call at Jaffa at any time of the year, but the large trading-fleets of the Italian republics made the journey once or twice only every year. Such fleets, which comprised also special pilgrims' ships, were called caravans; they were convoyed by armed escorts and travelled under the command of an official representative of their government. Venice used to send out two caravans every year: one would arrive at Jaffa about Easter, the other in the autumn. The Genoese sent one fleet only, which sailed in September, and spent the winter in the Levant.

The goods imported from Europe were chiefly dried fruit and preserved foodstuffs, wrought and unwrought metals, timber, linen and woollens; amongst the goods exported from Jaffa were sugar, cotton, flax, indigo, saffron, the spices and drugs of Arabia (which were brought to Jaffa by the road connecting that town with Kerak *viâ* Jerusalem and

¹ Rey, *Colonies Franques*, pp. 410-411.

² Cunningham Geikie, *The Holy Land and the Bible*, 1887, p. 4.

Jericho), and the products of the special industries of Jaffa itself: soap, fine pottery, and glass. The pottery and glass turned out by the Jaffa factories comprised lamps, jars, jugs, cups, dishes, plates, bottles; they were made of a siliceous clay, covered with enamel: white inscriptions in Oriental characters or many-coloured arabesques on a generally turquoise-blue or green background. This important pottery and glass industry of Jaffa was practised almost exclusively by Jewish artisans¹; the introduction of its products into southern France from the end of the twelfth century onwards exerted a strong influence on the development of French ceramic art.²

The bankers of the time of the Latin kingdom were the Italians, and the Knights Hospitallers and Templars. A famous Jaffa banker whose name has been preserved, was one Bertone di Rescoro, of Pisa.³

¹ Rey, *Colonies Franques*, pp. 211-212.

² *Id.*, p. 214.

³ *Id.*, pp. 265-266.

CHAPTER VIII

JAFFA UNDER EGYPTIAN RULE (A.D. 1268-1516).

After its destruction at the hands of Bibars in 1268, Jaffa did not long remain in ruins. After a short time, the population returned, the houses were rebuilt, even the citadel and the walls were repaired. Shipping and trade quickly resumed their normal course, and the foreign merchants, especially the Italians, took up again their activities in their own quarters, as before. In 1321, the Arab geographer, Abulfeda, described Jaffa as a small but pleasant town, well fortified; its bazaars are frequented by many merchants; the harbour is visited by "all the ships coming to Palestine, and from it they set sail to all lands."¹ A great fair took place every year at Nebi-Rubîn, about 9 miles south of Jaffa, to which a large number of merchants used to flock from many foreign countries.² In 1334, Jaffa was visited by the Jewish traveller, Rabbi Isaac Chelo, who has left us the following valuable description of it: "Jaffa is the beauty of the seas. It is the seat of a rather important trade, and the population is large and wealthy. Amongst the articles which are the most important objects of the commerce of Jaffa are olive oil, spun cotton, scented soap, glass vases,

¹ Abulfeda, quoted by Le Strange, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, p. 551.

² Conder, *Syrian Stone Lore*, p. 448.

dyed fabrics, dried fruits, etc. The Jews of this town have a beautiful synagogue containing a large number of very old and very fine books of the Law. Adjoining this synagogue there are a school and a library; but there are few learned men at Jaffa, so that the school is but little frequented, and the library still less. The books are a donation from an old rabbi who died at Jaffa, and who gave them to the community on condition that they were not to be sold but must be lodged in a suitable building near the synagogue; he also left the necessary funds for the construction of the building.¹ In 1335 the Emir Jemâl ed-Din ibn-Isheik founded the *wely* (Moslem sanctuary) known as the “*kubbet* Sheikh Murad,” which still exists to-day and is situated to the east of the suburb called the *Saknet Abu-Kebîr*.²

The fall of Acco had at first failed to rouse the European powers to a new effort against Islam. It was not long, however, before the Crusading spirit awoke again. In 1307, the Venetian traveller and geographer, Marino Sanuto, offered to the pope his famous treatise, “*Secreta Fidelium Crucis*,” as a manual for true Crusaders who desired the reconquest of the Holy Land. The same year also, one Hayton presented the pope with a detailed project for a new Crusade, in which the occupation of Jaffa by a Christian fleet was proposed as the first essential step to be taken.³ The same year again, Pierre Dubois submitted to king Edward I of England a pamphlet “*De recuperatione Sanctae*

¹ Izhak Chelo, שׁבֵּילִי יְרַשְׁלָמִים *Les Chemins de Jérusalem* (1334). Translated from the Hebrew into French by E. Carmoly in his *Itinéraires de la Terre Sainte*, Brussels, 1847, p. 248.

² See letter from Clermont-Ganneau in P.E.F.Q.S., 1874, pp. 270-272.

³ J. Delaville Le Roux, *La France en Orient au XIVème Siècle*, Paris, 1885, pp. 64-65 and 70.

*Terrae.*¹ In the summer 1332, the king of France Philip VI took the Cross, and the new Crusade became the subject of a serious discussion at his court,² but no steps were as yet taken to carry the project into execution. At last in 1334 pope John XXII, alarmed by the signs of the approaching conflict between France and England, made an attempt to divert to other objects the warlike spirit that was pervading the two countries, and proposed an immediate Crusade; both kings accepted, levied taxes for the purpose and collected troops.³ The pope appointed the king of France captain-general of the Crusade. A treaty was concluded with Venice for the supply of the required ships, and stores were collected in several Mediterranean ports. In the spring of 1336, Philip VI, accompanied by the kings of Navarra and of Bohemia, visited the newly-elected pope Benedict XII at Avignon. The kings of Aragon and of Sicily were present at this conference, and on Good Friday the pope delivered a sermon in favour of the Crusade. Shortly afterwards Philip went to Marseilles to inspect the fleet.⁴ As soon as the news of these preparations became known in Egypt, the sultan En-Nâsir Nâsir-ed-Din Mohammed gave orders to destroy the mole and

¹ Some ten years after the destruction of Jaffa by Bibars, a Franciscan monk, Fidentius of Padua, had, at the request made to him at the Council of Lyon in 1274 by pope Gregory X, composed a project for a Crusade, in which he had explained the necessity, if the Crusade succeeded, of maintaining a permanent army of sufficient strength in Palestine, and of fortifying the cliffs of Jaffa. (Delaville Le Roulx, op. cit., p. 25.)

² Lavisson et Rambaud, *Histoire générale du IV^e Siècle à nos Jours*, Paris, 1894, Tome III, p. 69.

³ *Histoire de France d'Anquetil, continuée, depuis la Révolution de 1789, jusqu'à celle de 1830*, par Léonard Gallois, Paris, Vol. I, p. 256.

⁴ Louis Bréhier, *L'Eglise et l'Orient au Moyen Age. Les Croisades*. 2^e édition, Paris, 1907, p. 267.

the quay of the port of Jaffa,¹ and prohibited any further landing of pilgrims there.² But, if the port was destroyed, the town itself remained intact; for Ludolph von Suchem, who visited it in 1340, describes it still as being "an exceeding ancient and beauteous city,"³ and as "still fairly peopled."⁴ The sultan's fears had been in vain, and the destruction of the port of Jaffa served no useful purpose. Before the Crusade could be launched, the year 1337 saw the beginning of what became the Hundred Years' War between France and England.

From the date of Ludolph von Suchem's visit (1340) until 1395 we possess no description of Jaffa nor any records concerning its fate. In 1395, the place was visited by the Baron d'Anglure, a French nobleman, who left a description of it in the account which he wrote of his pilgrimage. By his time the landing prohibition had been removed, and Jaffa had again become the ordinary place of disembarkation for pilgrims; but the town itself was completely destroyed and entirely uninhabited, and the only place where the pilgrims could find shelter for the night was in an abandoned chapel of the church of St. Peter,⁵ the remains of which were still recognizable amongst the ruins of the citadel.⁶ Of the causes which brought about this utter ruin of the once beautiful and wealthy city we

¹ Ludolph von Suchem, *op. cit.*, p. 49: "Once the common pilgrimage way passed through this city, but, shortly before my time, the Soldan laid waste the port out of fear of the king of France."

² *Id., id.*, p. 65, "pilgrims are not able to land there."

³ *Id., id.*, p. 65.

⁴ *Id., id.*, p. 49.

⁵ *Le Saint-Voyage de Jérusalem, par le Baron d'Anglure, 1395*, Paris, 1858, pp. 50-51.

⁶ Rey, *Colonies Franques*, p. 410.

know nothing positive; we can only surmise that the destruction was the act of the only Crusader who actually carried war into Palestine during the fourteenth century, namely, Peter I, king of Cyprus, who sacked Alexandria in 1365, and ravaged the coasts of Palestine and Syria in 1367.

The destruction was so complete that not a single house remained intact;¹ and the recollection of the cruelties which no doubt accompanied the pillage remained so vivid in the memory of the people, that for three centuries no attempt was made to rebuild the ruined city. The site, however, did not cease to remain an important landing-place for pilgrims and for goods; with regard to the latter, the merchants had merely moved further inland and had established themselves at Ramleh. John Poloner, who visited Jaffa in 1422, did not see there one single human being.² In 1432, the Frenchman Bertrandon de la Brocquière finds there "only a few tents covered with reeds, whither pilgrims retire to shelter themselves from the sun."³ Of these tents no further mention is made after that date; henceforth the pilgrims are lodged in three or four half-ruined vaults which were situated in the slope of the hill above the shore,⁴ and had been cleared of debris. The two towers of the citadel which, although in a very ruined state, had

¹ *Voyage d'Oultremer en Jherusalem, par le Seigneur de Caumont l'an MCCCCXVIII, publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit du Musée Britannique par le Marquis de la Grange, Paris, 1858, p. 46:* "quant à présent, n'y a nulle habitacion."

² *John Poloner's Description of the Holy Land (c. A.D. 1421), P.P.T.S., London, 1894, p. 29:* "In this city I did not see any living man."

³ *The Travels of Bertrandon de la Brocquière A.D. 1432-1433, in Early Travels in Palestine, London, Bohn, 1848, p. 286.*

⁴ *Die Jerusalemfahrt des Kanonikus Ulrich Brenner vom Haugstift in Würzburg (1470), herausgegeben von Reinhold Röhricht Z.D.P.V., 1906, p. 27.*

remained standing,¹ had been slightly repaired and were inhabited by a small military guard.² Of the rudeness of the soldiers towards the pilgrims, and of the filthy state in which the vaults were kept, it was alleged with the express intention of humiliating the Christians, many travellers have left bitter complaints. “I have hardly anywhere seen such great ruins as here, and I wondered how they could have thrown down such thick walls. Just at the entrance as one comes up from the sea they have left two vaulted buildings standing, which are cut out of the hill itself, and are covered above with earth and ruins: wherefore it is always damp in those vaults, and water drips down from above, the walls are wet, the foundation muddy, and all the year round the place is used by the Saracens as a common sewer. Into this sewer they thrust the Christian pilgrims, as has been said: but what especially troubles the pilgrims who are confined there is that as you enter the cave the vault is broken, and great stones hang threatening to fall upon their heads, so that a push of one's finger would bring down a great heap of stones, and it is beneath these dangerous ruins that the pilgrims are forced to go in and out continually.³ The vaults are called by the pilgrims “St. Peter's cellars.”⁴ The painter Erhard Rewich, of Utrecht, who accompanied the Dean Bernhard von Breitenbach,

¹ Die Jerusalemfahrt des Kanonikus Ulrich Brenner vom Haugstift in Würzburg (1470), herausgegeben von Reinhold Röhricht Z.D.P.V., 1906, p. 26.

² מכתב מסע לר' משולם בכם' מנחם מוולטרה משנת הרמ"ה לבר"ע

Relation of the Journey of Rabbi Meshullam ben Menahem of Volterra in the year 5245 (A.D. 1481). Hebrew manuscript in the Bibliotheca Laurentiana at Florence, published for the first time by Luncz in his *Jerusalem I*, pp. 166-219.

³ *The Book of the Wanderings of Brother Felix Fabri (circa A.D. 1480-1483)*, P.P.T.S., London, 1893, p. 238.

⁴ *Id.*, p. 244.

of Mayence, on his pilgrimage to Palestine, and visited Jaffa with him in 1483, has included a sketch of these vaults and of the two towers (fig. 11) in the large Palestine map which was published by the Dean, after their return to Mayence, in what happens to have been the first book ever printed with illustrations in woodcuts.¹ Even princes and reigning monarchs, if they were Christians, had to be satisfied with the shelter of these vaults, as we see from the account of the pilgrimage of the Duke Henry the Pious of Saxony in 1498 : "we pilgrims went ashore and rested the same night in a vaulted stone hole by the sea."²

¹ *Die Palästinakarte Bernhard von Breitenbach's, von Reinhold Röhricht, Z.D.P.V., 1901, pp. 128 f.*

² *Die Jerusalemfahrt des Herzogs Heinrich des Frommen von Sachsen (1498), von Reinhold Röhricht, Z.D.P.V., 1901, pp. 8-9.*

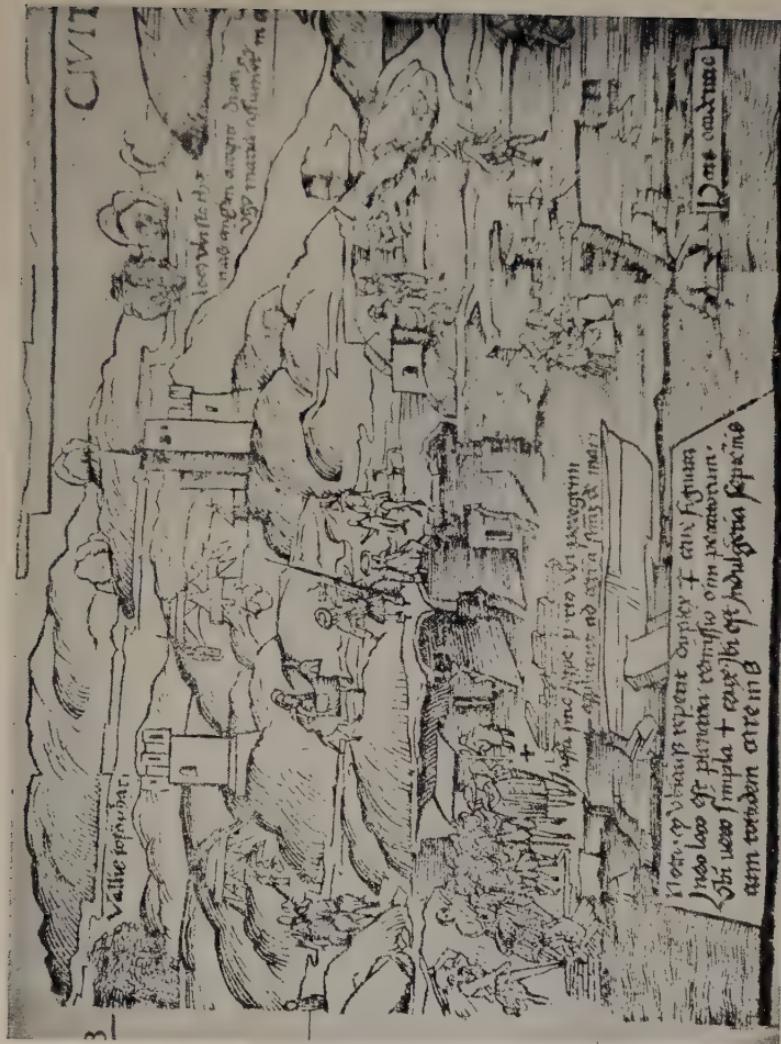


Fig. 11

JAFFA IN 1483

(From the Palestine Map of Erhard Reitich and B. von Breitenbach)

[face p. 132]

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CHAPTER IX

JAFFA UNDER THE TURKS (1516-1917) AND UNDER THE BRITISH OCCUPATION AND MANDATE (SINCE 1917).

The defeat of the Mameluk sultan Kansu el-Ghuri, and the conquest of Egypt and Palestine by the Turks under Selim I in 1516, did not bring about any change in the state of the ruined city of Jaffa. In 1575 the German botanist, Leonard Rauwolff, did not yet find there a single house,¹ and in 1586 the Belgian chevalier Jean Žvallaert found the town in the following state : “The haven was, in times bygone, walled all around, except towards the north, where was the entrance : the remains of the said walls can be seen to the present day emerging slightly out of the water, like reefs. . . . Parts of the city walls can be seen lying on the ground : the best preserved parts to be found are two small square towers, one larger than the other, which were repaired a few years ago, with windows and battlements, and into which several pieces of iron cannon and harquebuses have been placed : and there reside at present the guards of the port. There are also certain vaulted grottoes, used for cellars, which seem to have been warehouses for storing the goods

¹ Dr. Leonhart Rauwolff's *Itinerary into the Eastern Countries, as Syria, Palestine, or the Holy Land, Armenia, Mesopotamia, Assyria, Chaldea, etc.* Translated from the Dutch by Nicholas Staphorst. In John Ray, “*A Collection of Curious Travels and Voyages*,” London, 1693, p. 266.

that were landed here. These grottoes or caverns are four in number, in the first of which they sell salt, grain and vegetables; the second has its entrance walled up, I know not why; in the third and the fourth, they themselves dwell, and shelter at noon, or on hot days, their animals, equally do they cause pilgrims to stay there on their arrival, and in this said fourth one was our dwelling, which is in width and height about twenty feet, and fifty in depth and they appear to have been much longer and extending further to the sea than they do at present.”

In 1598, the traveller Johannes Kootwijck still found on the semi-circle of flat reefs which surround the *birket el-kamar* (the basin of the moon) to the south of the town, a number of stone columns pointing to the existence there, at one time, of a landing place and warehouses; he also observed on the line of reefs which lie in front of the promontory, traces of an ancient mole.¹ The drawing which he made of Jaffa is reproduced in fig. 12. In 1602, a Dutch pilgrim² mentions the presence, in Jaffa, of merchants trading in cotton; but they had come there only to meet a ship, and spent the night in the open. The author volunteers the details that, of the two towers on the top of the hill, the southern one was higher and wider, and the northern one somewhat narrower; and that both were square-shaped, and without roof. He

¹ *Le tres devot Voyage de Jerusalem, fait par Jean Svallaert, Chevalier du Saint-Sépulcre de Notre Seigneur, Mayeur de la ville d'Ath en Haynaut, etc., Anvers, 1608, Livre III, pp. 3-6.* (He visited Jaffa in August, 1586.)

² *Itinerarium Hierosolymitanum et Syriacum. Auctore Joanne Cotovico. Antwerpiae MDCCXIX, Liber II, cap. I, p. 133 ff.*

³ Ferdinand Mühlau, *Martinus Seusenius' Reise in das Heilige Land 1602/3, Z.D.P.V., 1903, pp. 21-24.*



Fig. 12

JAFFA IN 1598



Fig. 13

JAFFA IN 1675

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adds that the land close to the town is very fertile, and that what keeps the people of the neighbourhood from cultivating that land and from settling again in the ruined city is the fear of the pirates who molest these shores.

Some fifteen or twenty years later, the Englishman Andrew Crooke still finds things in the same state : " Of the city there is no part standing more than two little towers : wherein are certain harquebuses acrock for the safeguard of the harbour. Under the cliffe, and opening into the haven, are certaine spacious caves hewne into the rocke : some used for ware-houses, and others for shelter. The merchandises here embarqued for Christendome are only cotton : gathered by certaine Frenchmen who reside at Rama in the house of Sion. The western pilgrims do for the most part arrive at this place, and are from hence conducted to Jerusalem."

Towards the year 1642, Franciscan monks established themselves amidst the ruins, and, in order to provide a more decent shelter for pilgrims, they built a few rooms in front of, and around the vaults which have been described before; but the Turks accused them of intending to build a fortress, and compelled them to pull down again all they had built.² A German pilgrim who stayed in the building in 1644, apparently just before its demolition, describes it as follows : " A house, which they call the *Casa di Franchi*; it is rather large in

¹ *A Relation of a Journey begun An. Dom. 1610. Foure bookes. Containing a description of the Turkish Empire, of Aegypt, of the Holy Land, of the Remote parts of Italy and Islands adioyning. The fourth edition. London, Printed for Andrew Crooke, 1637, p. 153.*

² *Relation d'un voyage fait au Levant, par M. de Thévenot, Paris, 1665, Vol. I, p. 416.*

size; inside there are vaults everywhere, wherein the pilgrims are allowed to lie down . . . ; it contains a fine cistern. The building has, however, not been completed, but is collapsing again; and, in order to prevent the Turks and Moors from practising their vexations and from placing their horses and other cattle in the house, it has so low an entrance that a man must stoop down very low to pass it. Many coats of arms of pilgrims are to be found there, cut in the stone.”

About the same time, the Turks built a third tower, of round shape, on the top of the hill,² and augmented the garrison. The consequence of the increased protection thus given was that immediately people began to encamp at Jaffa in a more or less permanent manner, and in 1644, there were already in existence some fifty to sixty huts in which trade was carried on between foreign merchants and the people of the district.³ But as late as 1647, there were still no permanent buildings in evidence; Monconys, who visited and described Jaffa in that year, says that the town consists only of an old castle and three caves cut into the rock.⁴ At last, in 1654, the Franciscans appear to have obtained permission to build a pilgrims’ hostel; for in that year they founded the present Latin Hospice.

The trade of Jaffa was now increasing in volume from year to year. Ships were arriving daily from

¹ Christian Fürers von Haimendorff, *Reis-Beschreibung in Egypten, Arabien, Palästinam, Syrien, etc.*, Nürnberg, 1646, pp. 176-177.

² *Of te Jerusalemsche Reyse, door den E. P. Bernardinus Surius*, Antwerp, about 1680, pp. 424-426. (The author was “Commissioner of the Holy Land, and President of the Holy Sepulchre,” in the years 1644-1647.)

³ *Id., id.*

⁴ Quoted by J. S. Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine*, Second Edition, London, 1822, Vol. I, p. 244.

Egypt with cargoes of rice and sugar, in exchange for which they would load at Jaffa soap, oil, gum, and raisins. Cotton, senna leaves, and Arabic gum were the chief objects of export to France and the other European countries. During the second half of the seventeenth century the French occupied the first place in this trade; they had at Jaffa a Vice-Consul who was placed under the orders of the French Consul at Damascus.¹ The English took but little interest in it: according to a letter from the French Consul at Saida, written in the year 1688, every summer one English vessel used to call at Jaffa to load three or four hundred bags of soap, and about two hundred bales of spun cotton.²

Soon, the example of the Franciscan brethren began to be followed by other religious communities and by private individuals; the merchants of Ramleh, especially, began to move to Jaffa. In 1675, the Dutch painter De Bruyn (Lebrun) visited Jaffa; the drawing which he made of the place (see fig. 13) already shows some important buildings, including warehouses and a mosque, and a number of isolated houses on the slopes of the hill. Lebrun, in the text which accompanies the drawing, points out the presence, on the reefs, of many remains of ancient buildings.³ Coming from a painter accustomed to exact observation, this evidence of the remains of mediæval harbour works is of con-

¹ Eugène Roger (1644), *La Terre Sainte*, quoted by Dapper, *op. cit.*, p. 233.

² Paul Masson, *Histoire du Commerce Français dans le Levant au 17ème Siècle*, Paris, 1897, p. 392.

³ *Voyage au Levant, c'est-à-dire Dans les Principaux endroits de l'Asie Mineure, Dans les Isles de Chio, de Rhodes, de Chypre, etc. De même que Dans les plus considérables Villes d'Egypte, de Syrie, Et de la Terre Sainte. . . Par Corneille Le Brun. Traduit du Flamand*, Amsterdam, 1714, 2 volumes, Vol. I, p. 144.

siderable value. The Latin Hospice is indicated by the letter D on the picture; the brethren claimed that it was situated on the site of Simon the Tanner's house.

On several occasions the warehouses were pillaged by Bedouin robbers, and in 1689 three French corsairs fired two hundred shots into the town;¹ but these attacks did not discourage the merchants of Ramleh from continuing the gradual transfer of their businesses and residence to Jaffa. In 1722, again, the town, which had already developed to a certain extent, was sacked by Arab brigands,² but seems to have rapidly recovered from this experience.

In 1726, a German priest described Jaffa as being still without walls and "as resembling more a village than a town, with poor and bad houses wherein dwell some Turks, Greeks, Jews and a few Catholic Christians of French nationality. It is administered by the pasha of Gaza, who makes much money out of the coming and going pilgrims, seeing that sometimes from a single person there is exacted a *caffaro* of 24 *piastre di Levante*, which correspond to about 32 Rhenish florins of our money."³ The picture of Jaffa (fig. 14) which this traveller gives in his book,⁴ gives a very good idea of the progress made by the city in the forty years which had elapsed since the date of Lebrun's drawing. On the summit of the somewhat fantastically-drawn hill there is the Turkish fort of which the two seaward towers constitute the most conspicuous

¹ Masson, *op. cit.*, p. 392.

² Guérin, *Judée*, p. 21.

³ P. Angélicus Maria Myller, *Peregrinus in Jerusalem, Fremdling in Jerusalem, etc.*, Prague, 1729, Vol. I, p. 181-182.

⁴ *Id.*, Vol. II, p. 11.

Pedali Terebrantia
A. *Asperula* *Ter.*
Juncus *Symonofaria*,
Carex *Ter.*
4. *Vitis* *Ter.*
5. *Vitis* *Rosa*.

IOPPEN.



Fig. 14

JAFFA IN 1726

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feature. The square building, without a roof, projecting from the shore out into the waters in the centre of the picture, is the Latin Hospice. The building marked 3 on the right of the Latin Hospice is the Greek Church. The Christian part of the population of the town comprised, now, a number of persons belonging to the Greek Church.¹ The town was still surrounded by stagnant waters, in consequence of which the climate was unhealthy, and few persons were tempted to choose Jaffa for their place of habitation.²

In 1733, we have evidence of the revival of industry, several persons being then stated as engaged in the manufacture of soap. The chief market for this product was Egypt; but considerable quantities were also exported to Europe via Acco.³ This trade was so important, that the shore in front of the town was permanently occupied by a large number of packages of soap.⁴ Large quantities of spun cotton were also being shipped every year from Jaffa to Acco in small boats, for transhipment into the larger vessels destined for Europe.⁵ Irrigated vegetable gardens, interspersed with fig trees, had been in existence for a number of years. One traveller, who visited Jaffa in 1738, states that he had been to the gardens of the Latin

¹ *Palestina Ovvero Primo Viaggio di F. Leandro di Santa Cecilia Carmelitano Scalzo*, Rome, 1753, p. 81. (He visited Jaffa in 1730.)

² *Leandro di Santa Cecilia*, *op. cit.*, p. 81.

³ *Wilhelm Albert Bachiene, Historische und Geographische Beschreibung von Palästina nach seinem ehemaligen und jetzigen Zustande. Aus dem Holländischen übersetzt . . . von Gottfried Maas*, Cleve and Leipzig, 1773, Vol. II, part iii, p. 160.

⁴ *Jonas Korten, Reise nach dem weiland Gelobten nun aber seit siebzehn hundert Jahren unter dem Fluche liegenden Lande*, Halle, 1743, p. 288.

⁵ *Richard Pococke, Description of the East and some other Countries*, London, 1743, Vol II, Part I, p. 3.

Hospice and rested there under the "very good shade" of the fig trees.¹ Like the painter Le Brun sixty years previously, he notices the existence, on the reefs in front of the town, of ancient ruined walls.²

About the year 1740, an Armenian from Constantinople obtained a permit to improve the existing buildings. He built along the shore, in front of the town, the stone wharf which formed the beginning of the present "Harbour street," and erected along it some of the stone houses and warehouses which still line this street on its eastern side.³ Greek and Armenian hospices for the reception of pilgrims were also built on this wharf. The other houses in the town remained the same poor huts as they had been before. In the meanwhile, the passenger movement through Jaffa had reached a remarkable volume; the Swedish naturalist, Hasselquist, who visited the town in 1751, states that at that date about 4,000 Christians, and as many Jewish pilgrims, arrived there yearly from all quarters of the world. He confirms the existence, near the town, of some pleasant gardens, of which he specially extols the beauty of the fig and pomegranate trees; he also mentions the orange tree, but does not speak of its cultivation on any large scale.⁴

The fifteen years that followed saw a very intensive development of the town. In 1766, Niebuhr⁵ counted between 400 and 500 houses and

¹ Jonas Korten, *op. cit.*, p. 293.

² Jonas Korten, *op. cit.*, p. 288.

³ Frederick Hasselquist, *Voyage and Travels in the Levant in the Years 1749, 1750, 51, 52*, London, 1756, p. 118.

⁴ Hasselquist, *op. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

⁵ Carsten Niebuhr, *Reisebeschreibung*, III, p. 42 (quoted by Ritter, *op. cit.*, p. 576).

several mosques, and the gardens covered already a considerable area ; they occupied the site of the one-time marshes, which had been drained. The trade had become quite important, and several European countries had their consuls, or "residents" at Jaffa. Shortly afterwards this growth was once more interrupted, and enormous damage done to the city, by a new series of sieges following one another in quick succession.

In 1765, one Osman Pasha had been appointed governor of Damascus and Palestine. He spent large sums in wars with Zâher ibn-Omar, the governor of Acco ; and, to find this money, he levied contributions on the towns, villages and individuals. Whosoever was suspected of having money, was summoned, bastinadoed, and plundered. These oppressions had already led to revolts at Ramleh (1765) and Gaza (1767) when, in 1769, he began similar extortions at Jaffa, where among other acts of barbarism, he arrested the resident of Venice, John Damiani, a respectable old man, put him to torture by inflicting five hundred strokes on the soles of his feet, and released him only against payment of a sum of £2,500. In their exasperation at these outrages, many of the people were ready to welcome any foreign invader who would free them of the pasha's oppressive rule.¹

The Mameluke general Ali Bey, who had made himself master of Egypt in 1766, took advantage of this situation to conclude an alliance with Zâher ibn-Omar and to invade Palestine. Turkey was involved in a war with Russia and had no troops to spare for the southern frontiers of her empire in

¹ C. F. Volney, *Travels through Syria and Egypt in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785*, 2 volumes, London, 1787, Vol. II, pp. 109-110.

Asia. In 1770, Ali Bey sent a corps of 500 Mameluke cavalry across the frontier; these seized Gaza, Ramleh and Ludd. Their appearance divided the population of Jaffa into two factions, one of which made preparations to deliver the town to the Egyptians and appealed for help to Zâher, whilst the other sent for Osman Pasha. The latter at once left Damascus and, within a few days, encamped near Jaffa. Two days later, the news was spread of the impending arrival of Zâher; the pro-Egyptian party in Jaffa now obtained the upper hand, and shut the gates against Osman Pasha, whereupon the latter decided to withdraw. But during the night, a detachment of his troops, passing along the sea-shore, entered by an opening in the wall, and sacked the city. The next day, Zâher appeared, and, not finding the Turks, took possession of Jaffa without meeting any resistance, and placed there a garrison.¹

At the end of February 1771, Ali Bey's son-in-law Mohammed Bey, surnamed Abu-l-Dhahab ("father of the gold," from the luxury of his tent and caparisons), arrived in Palestine with an army of 40,000 men. At Acco he joined the forces of Zâher, and together they marched on Damascus. The city was taken in June, and the citadel was about to capitulate, when Mohammed Bey, apparently won over by the Porte, suddenly abandoned the siege and returned in haste to Egypt. Here he attacked his father-in-law Ali Bey; the latter's troops having been defeated, Mohammed occupied Cairo in April 1772, whilst Ali Bey himself with 800 of his Mamelukes escaped

¹ Volney, *op. cit.*, p. 111.

to Gaza in an endeavour to take refuge with his ally Zâher at Acco. As a result of his defeat, the Turkish faction at Jaffa had got the upper hand; they had expelled the garrison whom he had left in the city and had also taken possession of a small Egyptian fleet that was stationed in the port. Reinforced by some people of Nablus who had joined them, they now opposed the passage of Ali Bey northwards. Zâher at once marched upon Nablus, inflicting severe punishment on its inhabitants, then joined Ali Bey south of Jaffa, and conducted him safely to Acco. Their combined troops attacked, in July, near Saida, a large Turkish army that had been sent against them, and defeated it completely.¹ On his return to Acco, a Russian warship arrived there, and, in execution of an agreement which Ali Bey had previously concluded with Russia, landed stores and ammunition and a force of 3,000 Albanians.² He now returned to Jaffa for the purpose of chastising its inhabitants for their treachery. The pro-Turkish faction, which was led by a sheikh from Nablus, shut the gates, and resolved to stand a siege, although the city, at that time, was protected only by an ordinary garden-wall. The few pieces of cannon of the besiegers had soon made a breach, but their cavalry showed no great eagerness to pass it, the besieged having protected the inside with stones, stakes, and deep holes dug in the soil. After a siege of eight months, the city capitulated in February, 1773, and Ali Bey placed in it a governor on behalf of Zâher.³ A month later, he was wounded and made prisoner,

¹ Volney, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 115-116.

² *Encyclopædia Britannica*, 11th Edition, article "Egypt."

³ Volney, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, pp. 119-120.

south of Gaza, in a battle against Abul-l-Dhahab, and was poisoned at the latter's instigation.¹

Some time afterwards, Abul-l-Dhahab received permission from the Porte to invade Palestine in order to punish Ali Bey's supporter Zâher. Having collected a large army, he provided himself with artillery, amongst which was a gun of sixteen feet in length, and procured foreign gunners whom he placed under the command of an Englishman, named Robinson. In February, 1775, he crossed the frontier, occupied Gaza, and marched on Jaffa, whose population determined to resist him.

The town was then surrounded "by a wall without a rampart, of twelve to fourteen feet high, and two or three in thickness. The battlements at the top were the only tokens by which it was distinguishable from a common garden-wall. This wall, which has no ditch, is environed by gardens, where lemons, oranges, and citrons, in this light soil, grow to a most prodigious size. Such was the city Mohammed undertook to besiege. It was defended by five or six hundred Safadians,² and as many inhabitants, who, at the sight of the enemy, armed themselves with their sabres and muskets; they had likewise a few brass cannon, twenty-four pounders, without carriages; these they mounted, as well as they could, on timbers prepared in a hurry; and, supplying the place of experience and address by hatred and courage, replied to the summons of the enemy by menaces and musket-shot.

"Mohammed, finding he must have recourse to force, formed his camp before the town; but was

¹ Volney, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 136-137.

² Inhabitants of Safed, Zâher's home.

so little acquainted with the business in which he was engaged that he advanced within half cannon-shot. The bullets, which showered upon the tents, apprized him of his error; he retreated, and, by making a fresh experiment, was convinced he was still too near; at length he discovered the proper distance, and set up his tent, in which the most extravagant luxury was displayed: around it, without any order, were pitched those of the Mamlouks, while the Barbary Arabs formed huts with the trunks and branches of the orange and lemon trees, and the followers of the army arranged themselves as they could: a few guards were distributed here and there, and, without making a single entrenchment, they called themselves encamped.

"Batteries were now to be erected; and a spot of rising ground was made choice of, to the south-eastward of the town, where, behind some garden-walls, eight pieces of cannon were pointed, at two hundred paces from the town, and the firing began, notwithstanding the musketry of the enemy, who, from the top of the terraces, killed several of the gunners.

"It is evident that a wall, only three feet thick, and without a rampart, must soon have a large breach made in it; and the question was, not how to mount, but how to get through it. The Mamlouks were for doing it on horseback; but they were made to comprehend that this was impossible; and they consented, for the first time, to march on foot. It must have been a curious sight to see them, with their huge breeches of thick Venetian cloth, embarrassed with their tucked-up *beniches*, their crooked sabres in hand, and pistols hanging to their sides, advancing, and tumbling among the ruins of

the wall. They imagined they had conquered every difficulty when they had surmounted this obstacle; but the besieged, who formed a better judgment, waited till they arrived at the empty space between the city and the wall; there they assailed them from the terraces and the windows of the houses with such a shower of bullets, that the Mamlouks did not so much as think of setting them on fire, but retired, under a persuasion that the breach was utterly impracticable, since it was impossible to enter it on horseback. Morad Bey¹ brought them several times back to the charge, but in vain.

"Six weeks passed in this manner, and Mohammed was distracted with rage, anxiety, and despair. The besieged, however, whose numbers were diminished by the repeated attacks, and who did not see that any succours were to be expected from Acre, became weary of defending alone the cause of Daher (Zâher). The Mussulmen, especially, complained that the Christians, regarding nothing but their prayers, were more in their churches than on the field of battle. Some persons began to treat with the enemy, and it was proposed to abandon the place, on the Egyptians giving hostages. Conditions were agreed on, and the treaty might be considered as concluded, when, in the midst of the security occasioned by that belief, some Mamelouks entered the city; numbers followed them, and attempted to plunder; the inhabitants defended themselves, and the attack recommenced: the whole army then rushed into the town, which suffered all the horrors of war: women and children, young and old, all were cut to pieces;

¹ One of the Mameluke generals.

and Mohammed, equally mean and barbarous, caused a pyramid, formed of the heads of these unfortunate sufferers, to be raised as a monument of his victory. It is said the number of these exceeded twelve hundred. This catastrophe . . . happened the 19th of May, 1776. . . .¹ This pyramid of skulls was erected on the hill on which the Egyptian artillery had stood. To this day that hill is called the *tel er-rûs* ("hill of the skulls"); it is situated in the midst of orange groves,² a short distance to the south-east of the present Town Hall and Governorate.

After the capture of Jaffa, Abu-l-Dhahab marched to Acco, which surrendered and was plundered. But he died suddenly a few days later, and his army made a hasty retreat to Egypt.

Volney visited Jaffa in 1783, and found that it had practically recovered from the effects of Abu-l-Dhahab's siege. But its neighbourhood was still continuing to suffer from the depredations of the Bedouins, to such an extent that it was unsafe to travel on the roads. The district of Jaffa was then one of the three districts governed by the pasha of Gaza. It belonged to the Sultana Walida (Sultana-Mother), who had farmed it out to an Aga against payment of a yearly sum of 120 "purses." For this he received the whole *miri* and poll tax of the town and of some neighbouring villages; but the chief part of his revenue was derived from the

¹ Volney, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 146-150.

² The present owner of the property, Mr. Frederick Murad, told the author that when the upper two metres of soil of the hill were levelled, about seventy years ago, on the occasion of the creation of the orange grove at present in existence, several hundred skulls and many skeletons were brought to light, together with a few old pieces of cannon, of which one is still to be seen. A fragment of another one, which is now lost, is stated to have borne the inscription WCo.

custom-house, as he received all the import and export duties. These were quite considerable, for the goods movement at Jaffa had become very important. Among the imports the largest place was still occupied by rice brought from Damietta; the exports comprised all the spun cottons of Palestine and most of the other goods exported from the country.¹

Zâher's place as governor of Acco had been taken by one Ahmed, an Albanian, surnamed *El-Jazzar* ("the butcher"), on account of his cruelty. In 1791 he had expelled from Acco the French, who had since several centuries had important business establishments there, and he had confiscated their goods and money. Accordingly, when in 1799, Bonaparte undertook his expedition from Egypt into Palestine with the intention of destroying there the Turkish army before the Turkish fleet could reach Egypt, which he proposed to destroy next, his first objective was the capture of Acco and the punishment of El-Jazzar. Crossing the desert in February, 1799, he took Gaza and Ramleh, the garrisons of both these towns retiring to Jaffa, where the Turkish forces were thus brought up to the strength of about 4,000 men. On the morning of March 3rd, the French army encamped in the orange gardens; Lannes' division was posted to the east of the town, and that of Bon to the south, whilst Kléber's took up its position on the river Aujah, five miles to the north, so as to cut off communication with Acco. On the morning of March 5th, the garrison made a *sorite* and surprised one of the French batteries, killing the gunners and carrying their heads away into the city.

¹ Volney, *op. cit.*, pp. 329-330.

The Turkish governor, by paying a high price for these trophies, stimulated afresh the ardour of his soldiers, who made a second *sor tie* at about 1 p.m., attacked the French batteries both in front and in flank through the gardens, and inflicted considerable losses on them, after which they withdrew again into the city.¹

At dawn on March 6th, the French having completed their preparations, a summons was sent to the town to surrender; but the garrison made no reply, and increased the intensity of its firing. At 9 a.m. all the French batteries began to pound the walls on several points at the same time. At 1 p.m., a large breach was effected, and the French poured into the city. The men of the garrison withdrew into the houses, through the windows of which they kept up for another hour an active fusillade against the French soldiers. The latter dispersed all over the town and gave themselves up to one of the most terrible massacres to which a captured city has ever fallen victim. The pillage and the slaughter lasted full thirty hours. Napoleon himself speaks of it, in his *Memories*, in the following terms:—

“The fury of the soldier was at its height, everything was put to the sword; the town thus being pillaged suffered all the horrors of a place taken by assault. . . . It was not until daylight that order was completely restored.”² Malus, a physician of the French army, and an eye-witness, says in his diary: “. . . the soldiers butchered men, women, old folk, children, Christians, Turks;

¹ *L'Agenda de Malus. Souvenirs de l'Expédition d'Egypte 1798-1801.* Publié et annoté par le Général Thoumas, Paris, 1892, pp. 132-133.

² *Id.*, p. 135 (footnote).

all that had a human face became the victim of their fury. The tumult of the carnage, the broken doors, the houses shaken by the noise of the firing and the arms, the screaming of the women, the father and the child thrown down one over the other, the daughter raped on the dead body of her mother, the smoke of the dead singed by their clothes, the smell of the blood, the moaning of the wounded, the shouts of the victors quarrelling over the spoils of an expiring victim, the infuriated soldiers replying to the cries of despair by shouts of rage and by redoubled blows, lastly men satiated with blood and gold falling, exhausted, over heaps of dead bodies : such was the sight which this unfortunate city offered until the night had come.”¹

Bonaparte sent his aides-de-camp, Beauharnais and Croisier, to calm the fury of the soldiers. The two officers, instead of confining themselves to the strict carrying out of their mission, accepted the offers of peace of the garrison who, entrenched in some large buildings, declared that, if they were promised that their lives would be spared, they would be ready to surrender, but that otherwise they would defend themselves to the last. When these 4,000 prisoners were brought into the camp, Bonaparte was greatly embarrassed; he could not send them to Egypt for lack of troops to spare as an escort, neither could he afford to liberate them and run the risk of seeing them go to Acco and join again the forces of the enemy. After three days of fruitless deliberations, he gave orders to shoot the prisoners; this order was carried out on March 10th, on the beach in front of the town.²

¹ L’Agenda de Malus, pp. 135-136.

² Mémoires de M. de Bourienne, Vol. II, p. 226 (quoted by Munk, *La Palestine*, p. 649).



Fig. 15 BONAPARTE VISITING HIS PLAGUE-STRICKEN SOLDIERS AT JAFFA, 1799
(From the picture by Baron Gros in the Louvre)

[face p. 150]

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For some time previous to the arrival of the French, southern Palestine had been suffering from an epidemic of plague, but as long as the army was on the march it had remained almost untouched by the disease. But the crowding of 4,000 Turkish and 12,000 French soldiers into Jaffa, and especially the looting of the houses and the dispersion of their contents amongst the soldiers led to the broadcasting of the germs. On the very morrow after the occupation, the plague began to spread with lightning speed and with deadly effect throughout the city : about thirty soldiers died every day, apart from a large number of civilians. The *moral* of the troops was gravely shaken by the progress of the malady, and Bonaparte, in order to revive their courage, did not hesitate to visit, and it is said even to touch, the sick at the Armenian convent which had been converted into a military hospital (see fig. 15).

The departure of the army on March 24th, on its way to Acco, arrested in some measure the progress of the disease at Jaffa itself. But whilst the siege of Acco was prolonging itself, streams of plague-stricken men kept pouring back into Jaffa, and once more the epidemic spread with great virulence ; so that after a few weeks there was hardly a house left which had not been infected. The Latin convent, which had placed itself in quarantine, did not succeed in escaping the contagion, and most of the priests in it died.¹

After the departure of the army, the breaches of the city-wall were repaired, and preparations were made for the landing, storing, and transport of the supplies which were to be sent from Egypt

¹ *L'Agenda de Malus*, pp. 139-140.

by sea. Early in April, three frigates, which had succeeded in eluding the vigilance of the English cruisers, arrived at Jaffa and landed provisions and siege artillery. But on May 24th the army came back to Jaffa, all hope of taking Acco having been abandoned, the Turkish army having, however, been destroyed. A halt of three days was made to rest the troops. The main army left on the 27th, and the rearguard under Kléber one day later, after they had blown up the fortifications.

The wounded were placed on board ship for Egypt; but these vessels were captured by the squadron of Sir Sidney Smith, the English defender of Acco. Some authorities maintain, and others deny, that, before leaving Jaffa, Bonaparte, in order to prevent the French wounded or plague-stricken soldiers, whom he was forced to leave behind him, from falling into the hands of the Turks, caused them to be poisoned. The truth seems to be that he actually gave such orders, but that they were not carried out. There were altogether some fifty men whom it was impossible to carry away, and who had to be abandoned to their fate. "Bonaparte said to the physician Desgenettes that it would be more humane to give them opium than to leave them behind alive; to which that physician made this much-vaunted answer: 'My business is to heal them, not to kill them.' Opium was not given to them."¹ Sir Sidney Smith, who arrived at Jaffa immediately after the departure of the French, does not mention anything about this matter in his despatches, but says that "seven poor

¹ Thiers, *Histoire de la Révolution Française, Directoire, ch. xviii* (quoted by Munk, *La Palestine*, p. 650).

wretches were left alive in the hospital, where they are protected and shall be taken care of."¹

Napoleon's enemies accuse him of having completely destroyed the orange and lemon groves of Jaffa. That some damage was done is evident, considering that the French, during the siege, "established their communications across the gardens, and that the forests of orange trees covered their movements and were their only ramparts against the fire of the enemy."² It is also true that during the march from Jaffa to the Egyptian frontier all the villages along the road were burned and the harvest on the fields destroyed, but as far as the orange groves are concerned, the present writer has been unable to discover reliable evidence confirming their destruction.

After the departure of the French, the reconstruction of the fortifications of Jaffa was begun under the supervision of Turkish and English officers, but early in the year 1800, before the work could be completed, the town had to stand another siege.

Towards the close of 1799, there had started, between El-Jazzar and the Grand-Wezir newly arrived from Constantinople, quarrels of such violence that their troops began fighting one another, with the result that the Turkish expedition against the French in Egypt was delayed. But when the Turkish army had at last gone, El-Jazzar came down on Jaffa where a Turkish garrison had been left, and besieged it. Abu-Marra, the Grand-Wezir's favourite, who was in charge of the defence, resisted for nine months, and then made his escape

¹ Quoted by Sir C. M. Watson, *Bonaparte's Expedition to Palestine in 1799*, P.E.F.Q.S., 1917, p. 31.

² *L'Agenda de Malus*, p. 131.

by sea.¹ Some time after El-Jazzar's death in 1804, Abu Marra was appointed pasha of Djedda, on the Red Sea. He took his route from Turkey through Palestine; but having arrived at Jaffa, he stopped there and refused to proceed to his post. The governor of Palestine, Suleiman Pasha, received orders to attack him, and Jaffa was again besieged. After a short period of resistance, Abu-Marra once more took safety in flight, and found refuge with the pasha of Damascus.²

The period from 1810 to 1820 saw important works of reconstruction and embellishment at Jaffa, thanks to the energy and taste of the then governor, who is known to us by his surname only: Abu-Nabbût. He rebuilt the walls entirely, and made a new ditch round them. By 1815 he had completed the building of a large mosque, which is still the principal mosque of Jaffa, and a fine bazaar.³ In the centre of the latter he erected, over one of the two perennial springs already mentioned, a fine fountain (see fig. 16) faced with marble slabs decorated with painted designs and Arabic sentences in letters of gold.⁴ A traveller of the middle of last century describes this fountain as recalling, by the elegance of its architecture and the beauty of its ornamentation, the Moorish fountains of southern Spain, wrought and chiselled like jewels of ivory.⁵ A part of the marble basin of the

¹ Munk, *La Palestine*, p. 650.

² Chateaubriand, *Itinéraire de Paris à Jérusalem*, Nouvelle édition "Classiques Garnier," Paris, p. 227.

³ Otto Friedrich von Richter, *Wallfahrten im Morgenlande*, Berlin, 1822, p. 11.

⁴ James Silk Buckingham, *Travels in Palestine*, Second Edition, London, 1822, p. 228.

⁵ Louis Enault, *La Terre Sainte. Voyage des Quarante Pèlerins de 1853*, Paris, 1854, p. 60.



Fig. 16 THE BAZAAR AND FOUNTAIN OF ABU-NABBUT IN 1834



Fig. 17 JAFFA : THE SEBİL ABU-NABBUT IN 1914.

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fountain still survives, but the columns and the roof have disappeared.

On the road to Jerusalem, at a distance of about half a mile from the eastern gate, Abu-Nabbût built another monumental fountain (fig. 17) covered with three large, and four small, domes in green; it was adorned with sculptured and painted flowers, and inscribed with verses engraved in golden letters on a background of white marble.¹ This fountain is still called the *Sebil Abu-Nabbût*.

By the year 1816, the eastern gate of the city had been rebuilt in monumental style, crowned with three small cupolas. The town counted then about a thousand houses. The defences comprised three small forts: one near the sea on the south-west, another also near the sea on the north, and a third near the eastern gate²; this last occupied the place covered to-day by the prison and the offices of the Commandant of Police.

In 1817, the walls were still in a very ruinous state, but Abu-Nabbût was busily engaged in repairing them. Vessels were arriving daily from Cæsarea, with stones taken from the ruins of that ancient city; and every morning at sunrise, the inhabitants of Jaffa, Christians and Moslems in turn, were called out to take part in the work of rebuilding the fortifications.³ By 1820, the walls had been completely repaired.⁴

From the time of the rebuilding of Jaffa in the seventeenth, to the beginning of the nineteenth,

¹ Richter, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

² Buckingham, *op. cit.*, p. 245.

³ *Travels in Egypt and Nubia, Syria and Asia Minor, during the years 1817 and 1818*, by the Hon. Leonard Irby and James Mangles, Commanders in the Royal Navy, London, 1823, p. 146.

⁴ William Rae Wilson, *Travels in Egypt and the Holy Land*, London, 1824, p. 96.

century, there was no Jewish community, and the Jewish pilgrims who passed through the town were made to suffer all sorts of vexations and humiliations. To put a stop to this situation, Isaiah Agiman, the Jewish banker of the Janissaries at Constantinople, purchased at Jaffa, in 1820, some buildings which he legally transferred to the Sephardic community at Jerusalem; and in one of the houses he established a free hostel for Jewish travellers, and a small synagogue.¹ About the year 1830, a sailing vessel from the north of Africa, having on board a large number of Moroccan and Algerian Jews, foundered near Haifa; those of the passengers who escaped from the wreck made their way to Jaffa, where they laid the foundations of the present Jewish community.²

In 1831, Mohammed Ali, the Turkish governor of Egypt, proclaimed himself independent and sent an army under the command of his son, Ibrahim Pasha, to take possession of Palestine and Syria, which countries had been promised to him by the Sultan as a reward for assistance given during the war with Greece, a promise which had not been kept. Ibrahim's force comprised 30,000 men with 50 siege guns and 17 bomb-throwing mortars, and it was supported by a fleet of 7 frigates of 60 guns, 6 corvettes, 10 brigs, and about a dozen gunboats.³ The army left Cairo in October, 1831, crossed the frontier on November 1st, and encamped a few days later on the hills south of Jaffa, between the town and the *wely* of Sheikh Ibrahim el-Ajami. Simultaneously the fleet, commanded by Ibrahim Pasha

¹ *Jewish Encyclopædia*, article "Jaffa" (Vol. VII, p. 52b.).

² *Id.*, *id.*

³ Eugène Poujade, *Le Liban et la Syrie, 1845-1860*, 3ème édition, Paris, 1867, pp. 15-16.

in person, anchored off the city. At the sight of the ships, the principal notables of Jaffa assembled and decided at once to surrender the town. A deputation was sent to Ibrahim on board the flagship, and a few hours later a small garrison landed, and took possession of the city.¹

The army and the fleet together now laid siege to Acco; but it took them seven months to reduce this city, which did not fall until May, 1832. Jerusalem had already been occupied before this date, Damascus fell in June, and in the last days of July Ibrahim defeated the main Turkish army that had been sent against him, and advanced into Asia Minor. In December he defeated the last Turkish force that barred the road to Constantinople; but the intervention of the European Powers forced him to arrest his progress. By the convention signed at Kutaiah on 8th April, 1833, he was confirmed in the possession of Palestine, Syria, and Adana, and thereupon began his withdrawal within these limits. However, foreseeing further struggles with Turkey, he began to levy new troops in Palestine and Syria. This measure called forth the most violent opposition on the part of all classes of the population, which was determined to resist by all means the enforcement of the orders of conscription. Ibrahim Pasha marched to Nablus (1834), which was the centre of the oppositional movement, assembled there the principal sheikhs of the region, declared to them that he expected them to furnish him 2,000 men, and went to Jaffa to await their reply. As soon as he had left, the sheikhs

¹ Thomas Skinner, *Adventures during a Journey overland to India by way of Egypt, Syria and the Holy Land*, London, 1836 and 1838, German translation by V. Jacobi, Leipzig, 1837, Vol. I, p. 216.

decided not to give a single man to the Egyptian army, and, uniting themselves with the sheikhs of the regions of Jerusalem and Hebron, proclaimed a revolt against Egypt. Ibrahim Pasha at once left Jaffa at the head of two regiments of infantry and one of cavalry, and marched on Jerusalem which was only lightly garrisoned and where he intended to establish his headquarters. He had taken the ordinary road from Jaffa to Jerusalem through the Wady Ali, and had arrived near the village Abu-Ghôsh, when he was attacked by the rebels. With great difficulty he succeeded in fighting his way through to Jerusalem, only to find himself completely blockaded there, with all communications to Jaffa cut. Three times in succession he attempted to break through towards the sea, but in every case his troops were forced back into Jerusalem. At last, thanks to the intervention of the sheikh Husein Abdel-Hadi, governor of Acco, who happened to be in Jerusalem, the besiegers permitted the Pasha to leave with his army for Jaffa, where he arrived a few hours after an Egyptian fleet led by his father had anchored in the roadstead. A large relief force was landed, but Mohammed Ali himself, without even coming ashore, returned at once to Egypt.¹ Ibrahim Pasha had been away from Jaffa for four months, throughout which period it had been besieged by the rebels of Nablus.² Now with his army reconstituted and strengthened, the Pasha marched back into the hills and succeeded in putting down the rebellion.

During the Egyptian domination Jaffa, far from

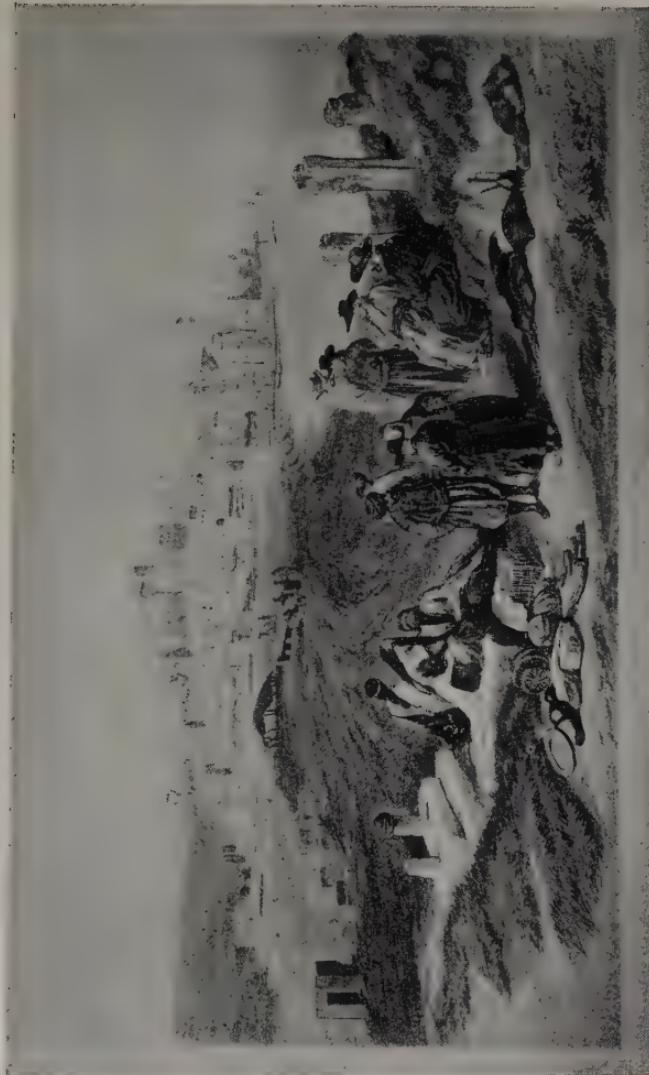
¹ Poujade, *op. cit.*, pp. 16-18.

² Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, London, 1893, p. 515.

Fig. 18

JAFFA IN 1859, FROM THE NORTH

[*face p. 158*]



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suffering in any way from the almost constant wars and sieges, continued to grow slowly but regularly. Ibrahim Pasha even contemplated, at one time, transforming the *bassat-Yafah* (see page 26) into an inland harbour connected by a canal with the sea¹; but nothing came of the project. In 1838, a violent earthquake threw down many houses and a large part of the fortifications.²

In 1840, the Lebanon revolted, and in the last days of the same year, Turkey, with the aid of England, France and Austria, regained Palestine. The last Egyptian domination over the country was thus ended.

Of the Egyptians who had come to Jaffa with Ibrahim Pasha, a few hundred families had settled, close to the town, in small villages known as the *sakanât*: the *saknet el-Musryeh*, named "Egyptian village" on Bedford's chart (see fig. 19) and situated along the shore to the west of the old Moslem cemetery; the *saknet Abu-Kebîr* at about a mile's distance to the east of the old city; the *saknet Hammâd* a few hundred yards to the north of the latter; the *saknet ed-Darwîsh*, about a mile to the south. On the departure of the Egyptian troops, the population of these villages remained behind. Their settlements have grown since then; to-day, most of them are surrounded by orange groves on all sides.

The Jewish community was still very small. Its growth was hindered chiefly by the continuation of an old *Herem*, or interdict, taking the form of a prohibition for Jews to settle in Jaffa, pronounced

¹ W. F. Lynch, *Narrative of the United States Expedition to the River Jordan and the Dead Sea*, London, 1849, p. 404.

² Vigouroux, *Dictionnaire de la Bible*, 1899, article "Joppé."

several centuries ago by the rabbis of Jerusalem with the purpose of attracting all immigrants to the Holy City. Notwithstanding this interdict the nucleus of a Jewish community had already begun to form itself, as we have seen before, around the pilgrims' hostel of Isaiah Agiman. In 1839, a body of Ashkenazic Jews¹ arrived at Jaffa and established themselves there. But, in spite of its increased numbers, the community still remained too poor to buy a cemetery, and continued, as heretofore, to bury its dead at Jerusalem. In 1841, the Chief Rabbi of Jerusalem, Abraham Hayyim Gagin, appointed a rabbi for Jaffa in the person of Jehudah Halevy; the *herem* ceased to be binding, and Jews were henceforth free to settle in Jaffa. Even Jews from Jerusalem began now to establish themselves at Jaffa for commercial purposes². Five years later, the Jewish community of Jaffa counted already about thirty families who had made their permanent home there.³

During the period from 1840 to 1855, certain people from Beyrut created, on the plain on both sides of the river Aujah, as well as in many of the gardens around Jaffa, large plantations of mulberry trees with the object of introducing the breeding of the silk worm. These plantations succeeded very well, and by the end of the fifties the production of raw silk had become quite a profitable branch of agriculture.⁴ Since then, it has, however, entirely disappeared, and of the mulberry plantations only

¹ Jews from Northern Europe, as opposed to those from southern European countries, who are called *Sephardim*.

² *Jewish Encyclopædia*, article "Jaffa."

³ Rabbi Joseph Schwarz, *Das heilige Land*, Frankfurt a/M., 1852, pp. 110-111 (written in 1846).

⁴ Thomson, *The Land and the Book*, pp. 515 and 524.



Fig. 19

MAP OF JAFFA IN 1863

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small isolated groups of trees are left here and there in the orange groves.

Towards the middle of the last century the town was growing at a rapid pace. Sir Moses Montefiore, who had visited it in 1855, wrote on the occasion of another visit in 1857: "Jaffa appears much larger, and a great number of houses have been built since we were last here, only twenty-two months ago."¹

In the autumn of 1866, an American religious society, which called itself the Church of the Messiah, settled at Jaffa. It counted in all 170 members, and was led by a preacher of the name of Adams. They brought with them framed wooden houses which they set up on a low hill situated on the Nablus road, a few hundred yards to the north of the city, and surrounded on all sides by orange groves. But disease and poverty soon led to such a state of discouragement among them, that the society was broken up; before a year had passed, most of its members returned to America on a vessel which the American Government had placed at their disposal for the purpose. Before leaving, they sold their property to a German group, the *Tempelgemeinde* ("Community of the Temple"), an Unitarian sect, who installed themselves at Jaffa in 1868. This group consisted of about 100 peasants from Würtemberg, with their families. They were sturdy people, accustomed to the tilling of the soil; unlike their unfortunate American predecessors, they were successful in their undertakings, and, notwithstanding the losses which they

¹ *Diaries of Sir Moses and Lady Montefiore*, edited by Dr. Loewe, London, 1890, p. 65.

suffered in consequence of the recent War, they are still a prosperous community.

The year 1879 marks the beginning of a new epoch in the life of Jaffa. That year the demolition of the city walls was commenced; and the immediate consequence of this measure was the creation and rapid expansion of new quarters both to the south and to the north of the walled city. In 1879, there were only a few houses in existence in the neighbourhood of the *wely* of Sheikh Ibrahim el-Ajami; to-day, after about forty years' slow but regular growth, the "Ajami" quarter of Jaffa, that is to say that part of the town which is situated on the hills to the south of the old city, counts about 950 houses (fig. 20).

By 1888, the city walls had been completely levelled and their place taken by buildings; the ditch had been filled up, and had been replaced by the present main road to the Ajami quarter. Along the sea, where the city wall had stood at a distance of about eight metres from the depth of water to which boats could come, so that over the intervening space, passengers and goods had to be carried in the arms or on the backs of the boatmen and porters, the existing narrow road had been widened and finished off as a quay wall with, at intervals, steps going down to the water level. At the same time the sea-bottom was deepened along this quay; and, in front of the Armenian convent, a platform was built out into the sea, and on it a custom-house erected, with a landing-stage of stone at depths where lighters and rowing boats can be easily berthed alongside.

The year 1892 saw the opening of the Jaffa-Jerusalem Railway, the first railway in Palestine.

Fig. 20

JAFFA: THE AJAMI QUARTER IN 1923
(Aerial photograph by the R.A.F., Ramleh)

[face p. 162]



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This and the active stream of Jewish immigration which had set in about ten years previously, had a pronounced effect upon the development of the trade and shipping of Jaffa, and upon the size of its population.

Between 1886 and 1892, the Jewish quarters of Neveh-Zedek and Neveh-Shalom, and the poorer Arab quarter of the Menshieh, to the north-east and north of the old town, had been founded and completed; the planning of the streets and the style of the houses were still in accordance with the ideas prevalent at the time in the towns of Palestine. But in 1909 the new Jewish suburb of Tel Aviv was founded on quite modern lines, and has since developed into an important township comprising nearly one-third of the total population of Jaffa and covering an area about as large as that of the Arab part of the town (see Appendix II).

There is no doubt that the remarkable growth of the town of Jaffa and of its trade during the last forty years is due first and foremost to the creation of the Jewish agricultural settlements in the neighbourhood, and to the influx into the town itself (including Tel Aviv) of a large population of Zionist Jews. Both this immigration and the whole foreign trade of Jaffa were brought to a sudden stop by the World War of 1914-1918.

At the beginning of November, 1914, Turkey entered the war on the side of the Central Powers, and shortly afterwards all the inhabitants of Palestine who were subjects of the Entente countries were expelled by being forcibly put on board the first available steamers from Jaffa and Haifa.

In August, 1914, a new governor of Jaffa had

been appointed in the person of Hassan Bek Basri el-Jâbi. Immediately on his arrival he formed of a number of inhabitants a local militia. Like Abu-Nabbût, a century earlier, he did much for the improvement and embellishment of the town. In July, 1915, he began to open, across the orange groves to the east of the town, the fine "Boulevard Jemâl Pasha," which has since been renamed "King George Avenue." The chief beauty of this avenue is the long row of Washingtonia palms which runs along its centre; these palms were bred at the Jewish agricultural school of Mikveh-Israel, situated close to the *Saknet Abu-Kebîr*, and they were planted in the new boulevard by the pupils of that institution. In the heart of the town itself, Hassan Bek also made considerable changes, pulling down houses in order to open new roads and squares, or to widen existing ones. Thus, in order to improve the approach to the harbour by widening the street leading down to it from the public square where the Jerusalem, Gaza and Nablus roads converge, he demolished the picturesque old bazaar built by Abu-Nabbût. He also built in the Menshieh quarter, not far from the shore, a new mosque, which does not lack due proportion and a certain grace, and which is called, after its builder, the Hassan Bek mosque.

In November, 1915, and again in June, 1916, a German foundry and mechanical workshop at Jaffa, which had been converted into a factory of war material, was shelled and destroyed by British and French warships, but no damage was done to the town in general or even to the buildings situated in the neighbourhood of the factory.

In May, 1916, Hassan Bek was replaced as

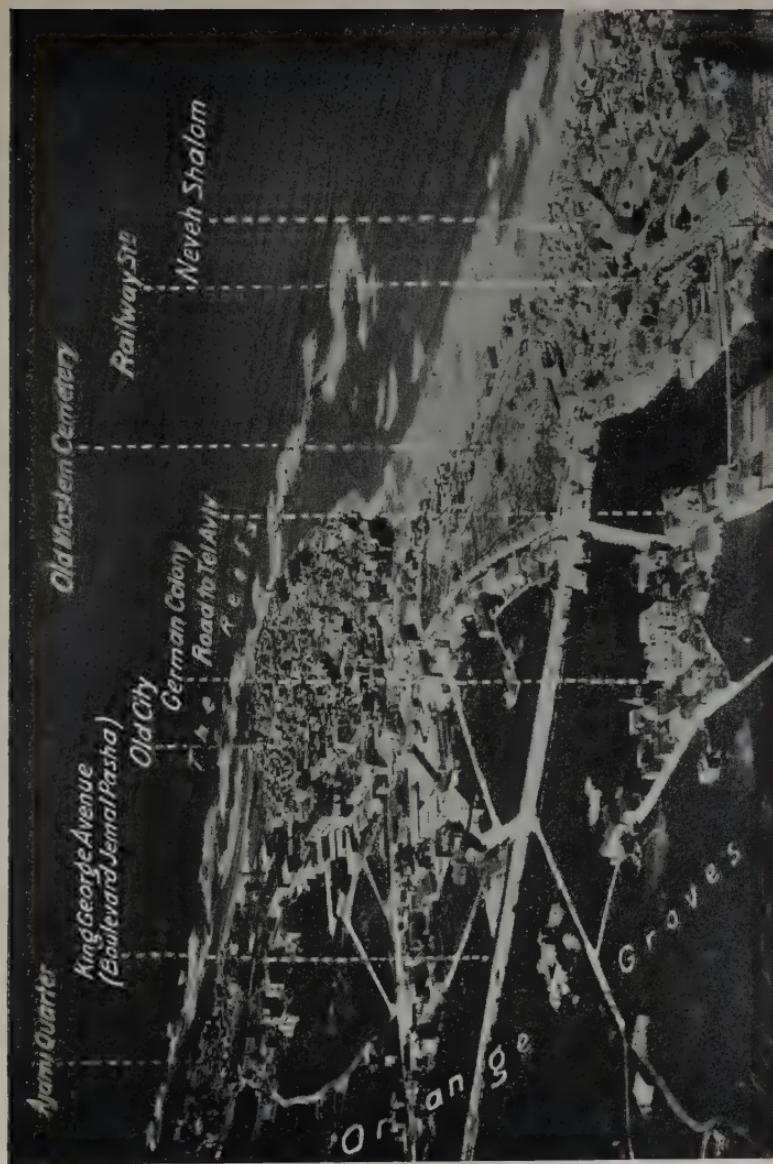


Fig. 21

JAFFA IN 1917
(*Aerial photograph by the German Flying Corps*)

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Fig. 22

JAFFA IN 1923 : THE OLD CITY, FROM THE WEST
(Aerial photograph by the R.A.F., Ramleh)



governor by Shukri Bek. In October of the same year, forty-five notables, the heads of the best families, including the Mayor of Jaffa himself, were deported together with their wives and children, first to Jerusalem, then to Damascus, and to Aleppo. There they were separated into several groups which were taken to Konia, Afium Kara Hissar, Eski-Shehir, Angora, and Broussa in Anatolia. It appears that the German consul at Jaffa had denounced them as entertaining sympathies for the Entente Powers.

In March, 1917, after the first attempt of the British armies to break through the Turkish front at Gaza, Shukri Bek left Jaffa, and was replaced by Hadi Bek. Shortly afterwards almost the whole population of Jaffa was evacuated. The orders were that only the owners of orange groves in person were to be permitted to stay behind in order to look after their properties; in fact, however, many of them were allowed to keep their families with them. The official instructions were also to the effect that all the inhabitants were to be sent to Homs and Hamah in northern Syria, and that free railway passes were to be issued to them for these destinations. Nevertheless, most of the people had to make the journey at their own expense. Many families, having no money for the journey, saw themselves compelled to take their furniture down into the streets and to sell it there at very low prices; it was bought up mostly by the people of Nablus, and in many cases not even one-tenth of its value was obtained. The reason given for the order of evacuation was that the Turkish General Headquarters expected the British at any moment to make a descent upon Jaffa. The Government

archives were transported to Ramleh and to Jerusalem, and Jaffa remained practically empty, a dead city.

On the 15th November, 1917, the Turkish commandant at Jaffa received a message from Headquarters, stating that the British would probably arrive at Jaffa in a day or two, and that all the inhabitants who had remained in the town or in the groves were to be immediately sent away; also that the police barracks and the Town Hall were to be burned. These orders were only carried out in part. Fire was set to the police barracks, but not to the Town Hall; nor were the remaining inhabitants sent away. The commandant, however, collected his soldiers (the whole Turkish garrison of Jaffa was then composed only of one officer and five mounted soldiers), the police and the militia, and took the road towards Nablus. But when they had arrived at about 3 miles from the town, they were discovered by a British aeroplane which dropped a few bombs in their neighbourhood. Whereupon they all, with the exception of the commandant who continued his way to Nablus, fled back to Jaffa.

On the following day, the 16th of November, the first mounted British troops, belonging to the "Anzacs" (Australian and New Zealand Army Corps) took possession of the city without meeting with any opposition; and, within a few days, the exiled inhabitants began to return to their homes.

Since the termination of the Great War, the economic life of the city has slowly come back to its previous aspect (see Appendix IV : Statistics). Jaffa proper has grown very little, but Tel Aviv has experienced a development such as few other cities have known these last years, even in the rich

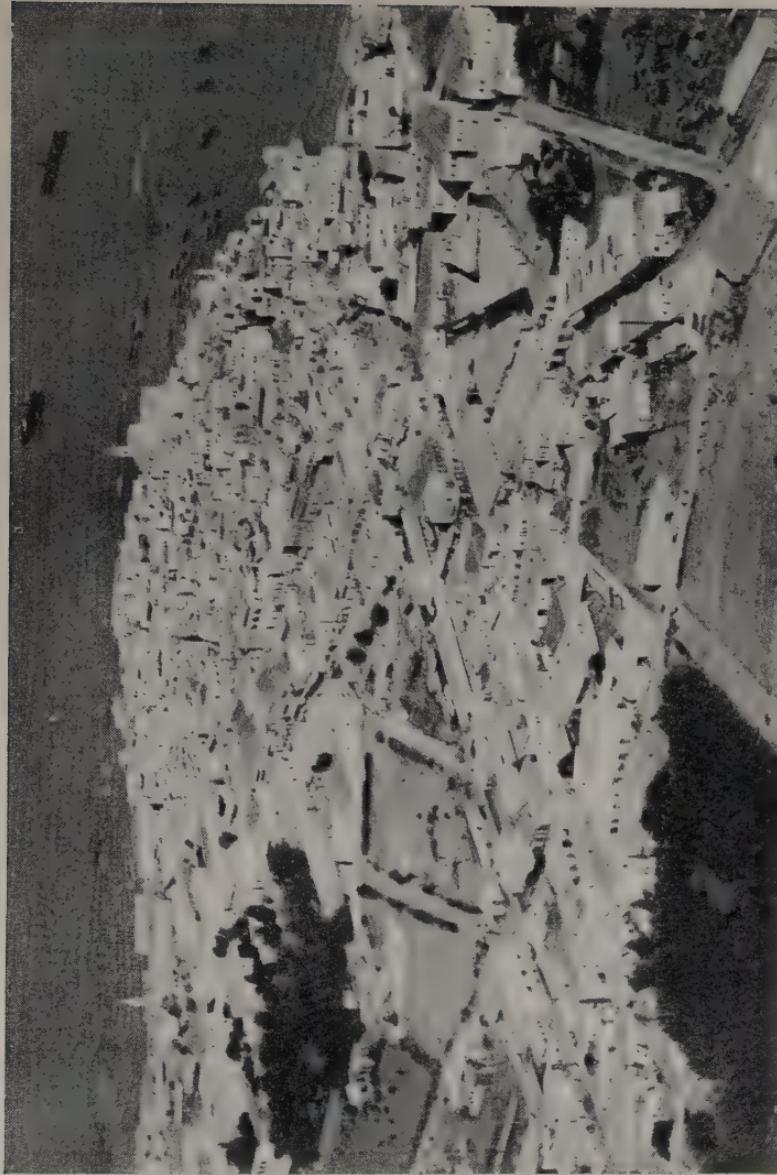


Fig. 23

JAFFA IN 1923 : THE OLD CITY, FROM THE EAST
(*Aerial photograph by the R.A.F., Ramleh*)

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countries of the West. The railway line to Ramleh, which the Turks had torn up, has been relaid; the road to Jerusalem has been repaired; large loans have been granted by the Government to orange growers for the improvement of their groves which had suffered from locusts and other adverse conditions during the War. Projects are under discussion for the creation of a modern harbour, and electric tramways; and as these concluding lines are being written, workmen are busy connecting the streets and houses and factories of Tel Aviv and Jaffa with the first power-station set up under a comprehensive scheme designed by Jewish engineers for the provision of electric light and energy for the whole of Palestine. The energy, the spirit of enterprise, and the modern methods brought with them by the Jews returning to the land of their fathers are making the pulses of the "beauty of the seas" throb with the expectation of a new life full of promise.

APPENDIX I

THE JUDEO-GREEK NECROPOLIS OF JAFFA*

About a mile to the east of the centre of the old city of Jaffa there rises a low hill, crowned to-day by the Russian church to which reference has been made before, and covered by the houses of an Egyptian village called the *Saknet Abu-Kebîr*, founded during the first half of the last century. The hill and the orange groves situated next to it, over a distance of about 700 yards southwards, and about as much south-westwards until close to the fountain known as the *Sebil Abu-Nabbût*, represent the site of the ancient cemetery of Jaffa, such as it was in use at the beginning of the Christian era. The land, especially the hill, is literally honey-combed with rock-tombs. The inhabitants of the neighbourhood are exploiting the tombs as quarries; in fact, practically the whole village of Abu-Kebîr and many houses in Jaffa itself are built of stone of this origin, and until the present day, tombs are

* Literature :

¹ Palestine Exploration Fund *Quarterly Statements*, 1874, 1893, 1894, 1898 and 1903.

² Ch. Clermont-Ganneau, *Archæological Researches in Palestine during the years 1873-1874*, London, 1896, Volume II.

³ C. R. Conder, *Syrian Stone-Lore*, London, 1896.

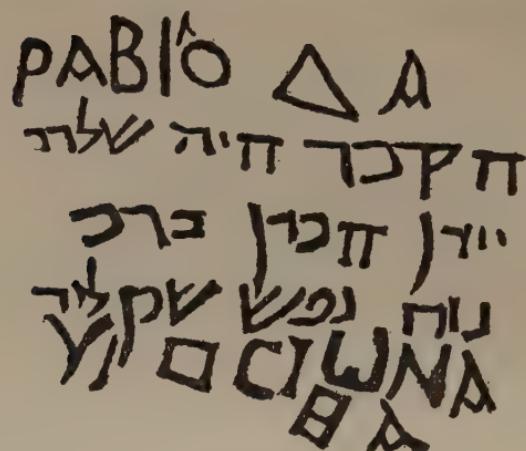
⁴ Samuel Klein, *Juedisch-palaestinisches Corpus Inscriptionum*, Vienna, 1920.

⁵ René Dussaud, *Musée du Louvre, Les Monuments Palestiniens et Judaïques*, Paris, 1912.

being destroyed year after year for the same purpose.

The tombs are constituted of sepulchral chambers rudely hollowed out of the soft calcareous sand-stone that underlies the cultivated soil everywhere in the maritime plain. Small marble slabs, with inscriptions (*tituli*) are generally set with mortar on one of the walls near the entrance; and occasionally there are still found in the caves, glass phials, and lamps, and vases of terra-cotta, which were placed there when the tombs were still in use.

Of the inscriptions found so far, practically all are Jewish. Some are in Hebrew-Aramaic, but most are in Greek. Occasionally, at the end, the Hebrew word **שָׁלוֹם** (*shalom*=peace) is added, or the Hebrew name of the dead when the inscription is in Greek. These *tituli* show that the language of the Jews of Jaffa of the first few centuries A.D. was Greek; Hebrew and Aramaic were apparently spoken only by the rabbis and other men of learning. Some of the inscriptions belong to the tombs of rabbis of the period of the *Amoraim* and *Tannaim*; such tombs are generally indicated by the adjunction, to the name of the dead person, of the title of honour *Barabbi* or *Birebbi* (**בָּרְבִּי**, or **בִּירְבִּי**, or in the Greek form *Bepēbi* or *Bappaθi*). Figure 24 reproduces the inscription belonging to the tomb of Rabbi Judah ben Jonathan ha-Kohen, who is mentioned in the Mishnah (Eduyot VIII, 2) as having appeared as a witness before the Court of Yabne at some date towards the middle of the second century A.D.

FIGURE 24¹

The transcription into modern characters, and the translation, run as follows:—

Pabi Iouda

RABBI JUDAH.

הקרבר הוה של רבי

This tomb
(belongs) to
Rabbi

Ιωρן הכהן ברבי

Judan the Priest,
the Barabbi.

נוֹחַ נְפֵשׁ שָׁלֹום

Rest. Repose.²
Peace.

υιος Ιωνα

Son (of) Jona =
tha(n).

υα

¹ P.E.F.Q.S., 1900, p. 114.

² Cp. ψ. ψ. 31, Exodus xxxi, 17.

Among the names of laymen occurs the noteworthy one of "Isaac, President of the community of the Cappadocians, from Tarsus, a linen merchant," showing the presence at Jaffa of a whole community of Cappadocian Jews; others came from Egypt, Cyrenaica, Chios, and Babylon, and other foreign countries. Another interesting description is that of "Benjamin, the grandchild of Tanhum son of Simon, Centurion of the camp," which reminds one of the fortified camp which Vespasian had constructed on the top of the hill of Jaffa.

The following are some of the names recovered :—

MEN, HEBREW.—Judah, Jonathan, Tanhum, Nahum, Samuel, Tarphon, El'azar, Joshua, Hiya, Aha, Manasseh, Semachyahu, Isa, Lazar, Daniel, Micah, Zachariah, Levi, Simon, Jacob, Joseph, Isaac, Benjamin, Reuben, Elkana, Yannai.

MEN, ARAMAIC.—Abudemnos, Abbomari (Abbo-mares), Abbones, Abbi.

MEN, GREEK.—Zenon, Esses, Zoilos, Paregorios, Gregorias, Ariston, Kyrillos and Alexander (both from Alexandria), Marias Anatolios, Appion, Mannos, Eilasios.

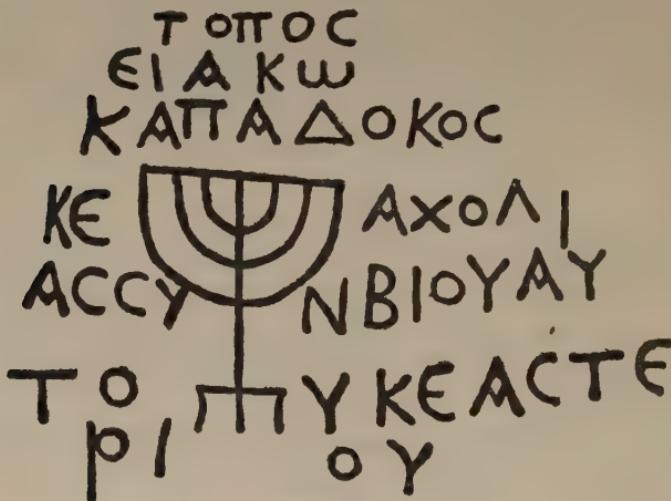
MEN, GRÆCO-ROMAN.—Titios, Rufinos, Gallos, Julianos, Justos.

WOMEN, HEBREW.—Shalom, Rebecca, Anna.

WOMEN, GREEK.—Nonna, Isidote, Protarchis.

There is also the *titulus* of a woman, in which, of her five children three sons are mentioned. Of these one bears a Hebrew name (Samuel), one an Aramaic (Abudemnos), and one a Greek (Zenon).

Some of the inscriptions bear, apart from the text, the representation either of the *menorah*, the seven-branched candlestick symbolic of Judaism (fig. 25), or a palm branch. The latter has not been found on funerary monuments of other Palestinian towns, and seems, therefore, to be characteristic of the Jaffa tombs. The same

FIGURE 25¹

remark applies to the formula (*shalom*=peace), which is not found at Jerusalem.

There is no doubt that only a very small part has been brought to light of the inscriptions which once formed part of the large necropolis of Jaffa, and which constitute a most valuable source of information concerning the history of the city during several centuries for which no other records are so far known. Much, of course, has been

¹ P.E.F.Q.S., 1893, p. 290.

destroyed by the quarrying operations of the villagers in search of stone for building; but it appears that much is still there that can be saved, if the required steps are taken without loss of time.

APPENDIX II

TEL AVIV

Until 1909, the Jews of Jaffa lived partly dispersed in the non-Jewish parts of the town, partly in the narrow Jewish quarters (Neveh-Zedek, Neveh-Shalom, etc.), built on the native model during the years 1886-1900. In 1909, thanks to a building loan granted by the Jewish National Fund,¹ a group of sixty families bought a piece of land of about 130,000 square metres situated along the western side of the Nablus road, at a distance of about half a mile from the town. They built there sixty-two houses and a large Hebrew College, and gave to the settlement the name of Tel Aviv ("the hill of spring"). In the following years new land was bought, and further houses were built. Soon the new suburb, with its modern appearance, its clean and wide streets, its plain but not unattractive cottages and small gardens, and its excellent water supply, began to act as a powerful centre of attraction, and more and more Jews of Jaffa began to leave their dwellings in the older quarters and to build themselves houses in Tel Aviv. The war of 1914-1918 interrupted the growth of this new city.

When peace was re-established, Jewish activities

¹ A fund constituted by voluntary donations from Zionists all the world over, for the purpose of acquiring land in Palestine for Jewish settlement.



Fig. 26

JAFFA AND TEL AVIV IN 1917
(*Aerial photograph by the German Flying Corps*)

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were revived with more energy even than before. For now the famous "Balfour Declaration" of November, 1917, embodying England's promise to help the Jewish people in the rebuilding of its National Home in Palestine, stirred new hopes and provided a new and potent stimulus. The following table, indicating the number of houses built in Tel Aviv every year since its foundation, will give the reader an idea of the remarkable growth of the city :—

<i>Year.</i>	<i>Number of houses built.</i>				
1909	62
1910	7
1911	11
1912	34
1913	39
1914	49
1915	0
1916	0
1917	0
1918	0
1919	9
1920	28
1921	157
1922	384

In 1922, by an Ordnance issued by the Palestine Government, Tel Aviv was recognized as an autonomous township formally under the municipality of Jaffa, and in June, 1923, the boundaries between Tel Aviv and Jaffa proper were definitely fixed, so as to include in Tel Aviv a part of the older Jewish quarters of Jaffa. This greater Tel Aviv, as constituted since June, 1923, covers an area

about as large as that of the whole of the non-Jewish part of Jaffa, and comprises about 2,000 houses with a population of 18,000 souls.

Tel Aviv is the only town in the world whose administration is entirely Jewish. The Mayor and his Councillors, the police inspector and his men, down to the street-cleaners and the bootblacks, all are Jews. The official language of the township, and that mostly spoken by the people, is Hebrew. Tel Aviv was the first city in Palestine to instal a central water supply and electric lighting. Its Council was also the first public body to introduce into the country the use of concrete, in place of the soft native limestone metal, for the construction of roads. Since 1922, the Township possesses on the sea-shore an attractive casino and large bathing establishments, whither visitors flock during the summer from all parts of the country and even from Egypt. Tel Aviv was the first Palestinian city to participate in the carrying out of the great scheme for the electrification of Palestine, known as the Rutenberg project. Since 1922, Tel Aviv has found imitators in other parts of the country; near Jerusalem, Haifa, and Tiberias, modern Jewish quarters are now in course of erection on similar lines.



Fig. 27

THE CENTRAL PART OF TEL AVIV IN JULY, 1923
(*Aerial photograph by the R.A.F., Ramleh*)

[face p. 176]

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FIGURE 29

Photographic reduction of July, 1923, map of
Jaffa and Tel Aviv.
Scale about 1 : 40,000.

APPENDIX III

THE ORIGIN OF THE JAFFA ORANGE

Whereas the cultivation of the citron (*Citrus Medica Cedra*) in Palestine appears to go back to the return of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity in the fifth century B.C.,¹ the bitter orange (*Citrus Aurantium L.*) and the lemon (*Citrus Medica Risso*) were introduced into the country during the tenth century A.D., by the Arabs, who had brought them previously from India to Oman, Basrah, Iraq and Syria.² From Palestine these trees were taken by the Crusaders and the Italian and French traders to the Mediterranean coasts of their respective countries during the last years of the eleventh and the early twelfth century. It was then that the name "orange" (from the Persian *narenj*, through the Arabic *naranj*) became known in Europe; but it served to indicate exclusively the bitter orange, for the sweet fruit (*Citrus Aurantium dulce*) was as yet unknown to the Near East as well as to the West. It was the Portuguese navigators, after they had discovered the sea-route to India round South Africa in 1497, who found the sweet orange in Hindustan, whither they learned that it had been

¹ The citron (in Hebrew עֵתֶר תְּנַךְ =ethrog) is used by the Jews for ritual purposes during the feast of Tabernacles; this feast was instituted by Ezra.

² A. Risso, *Histoire Naturelle des Orangers*, Paris, 1818, pp. 8-9; see also Victor Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen und Haustiere*, Berlin, 1911, p. 453.



Fig. 28

A CORNER OF TEL AVIV IN 1923
(*Aerial photograph by the R.A.F., Ramleh*)

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imported from China. They brought the fruit with them to Portugal, and from here its knowledge spread over Europe. In the Germanic countries it was called the "apple of China" (Dutch: *sinaasappel*, German: *Apfelsine*); but in the Mediterranean regions it remained known as the "Portuguese fruit": in the Provence it is called *pourtouaglié*, in Italy the best oranges are recommended as being *portogalli*, and the Arabs of Palestine and the neighbouring countries call it *burdukân*. Thus it is to the traders from the West that Palestine is indebted for the introduction of the sweet orange. But this is true only so far as the statement applies to the small, spheric orange grown to-day at Saida and at Jericho. The large, oval, seedless "Jaffa orange" has another origin.

We have seen before that during the sixteenth century, which was the time when the sweet orange was spread from Portugal over the Mediterranean countries, Jaffa was nothing but a collection of deserted ruins. The creation of the orange groves of Jaffa cannot, therefore, go back further than to the beginning of the eighteenth century, when the town began again to be inhabited. The picture of Jaffa in 1726, given by P. Angelicus Maria Myller (fig. 14, page 138) shows on the left a large and regular plantation of trees which, by their shape, may well be orange trees. The first authentic evidence which we possess of the existence of such trees at Jaffa is due to the Swedish naturalist Hasselquist,¹ who mentions among the plants which he saw in 1751 "in the gardens (of Jaffa) Citrus aurantia. The orange tree." Twenty-four years later, when Abu-l-Dhahab besieged Jaffa, the

¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 276-277.

town was already surrounded by "a forest of orange and lemon trees,"¹ where the oranges were growing "to a most prodigious size."² The description of the fruit as of "prodigious size" does not fit the small variety of Saida or Jericho; it fits only the large, oval fruit peculiar to Jaffa and known by the native name of "shamouty." The question as to how and whence this fruit was brought to Jaffa may possibly for ever remain unsolved. According to the version which was told the present writer,³ the "shamouty" orange was brought back from China, about two hundred years ago, by an Armenian priest whom the Armenian Patriarch had sent on a mission to Persia, India, and the Far East. On the whole, the story is quite plausible: the date mentioned corresponds with that of the first indication we have of the existence of orange groves at Jaffa, and it is also true that Armenians played a prominent part in the re-building of the town during the first half of the eighteenth century (see page 140). The only difficulty lies in accepting the statement that a Christian priest travelled as far as China on a religious mission. It is worth noting, in this connection, that at the beginning of the sixteenth century (A.D. 1519) the Emperor Baber, in his memoirs, mentions the orange of Khorassân and states that this fruit forms the object of an important trade between Asterabad, a town and district of Northern Persia, and Samarkand, a distance of about 1,100 miles; "but as these have a thick peel

¹ Volney, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, p. 331.

² *Id.*, Vol. I, p. 146.

³ By Mr. Frederick Murad, of Jaffa.

and little juice they are not apt to be much injured."⁵ It is a fact that the Jaffa orange possesses quite extraordinary keeping qualities, and that these are chiefly due to its thick peel.

⁵ *The Memories of Zeher-ed-Din Muhammed Baber, Emperor of Hindostan*, written by himself (A.D. 1519) in the Yaghatai Turki, and translated by John Leyde and William Erskine, published in 1826 (quoted by E. Bonavia, *The Cultivated Oranges and Lemons of India and Ceylon*, London, 1888).

APPENDIX IV

STATISTICS OF SHIPPING, TRADE, AND THE POPULATION OF JAFFA, FROM 1886 TO 1923

MOVEMENT OF SHIPS AT JAFFA FROM 1886 TO 1922

Year	Sailing Vessels	Reg. Tons	Steamers		Total Numbers	Reg. Tons
	Numbers		Numbers	Reg. Tons		
1886	603	21,167	397	438,177	1,000	459,344
1887	558	20,396	403	441,306	961	461,702
1888	560	21,467	382	439,039	942	460,506
1889	470	17,395	356	393,352	826	410,747
1890					767	454,254
1891	320	20,445	376	379,721	696	400,166
1892	350	17,186	383	422,171	733	439,357
1893	513	23,807	439	513,775	952	537,582
1894	305	17,965	451	518,994	856	536,959
1895	342	15,934	491	587,734	833	603,668
1896	387	17,362	411	493,973	798	511,335
1897	274	14,003	414	500,499	688	514,502
1898	122	21,109	431	582,962	553	604,071
1899						
1900	43+	15,955	421	507,575	855	523,530
1901						
1902	285	11,161	330	503,926	615	515,087
1903	340	12,429	425	576,820	765	589,249
1904	409	13,711	489	704,936	898	718,647
1905	426	15,653	545	803,325	971	818,978
1906	522	18,277	602	907,680	1,124	925,957
1907	398	16,885	611	912,076	1,009	928,961
1908	531	21,815	672	1,014,557	1,203	1,036,372
1909	482	15,648	744	1,154,771	1,226	1,170,419
1910	807	21,379	707	1,115,391	1,514	1,136,770
1911	756	23,630	633	1,025,461	1,389	1,049,091
1912	565	12,079	587	1,014,084	1,152	1,026,163
1913	676	16,166	665	1,160,315	1,341	1,176,481
1914						
1915						
1916						
1917						
1918						
1919/20	972	8,030	194	275,107	1,166	283,137
1920/21	933	12,665	315	418,659	1,248	431,324
1921	928	15,999	448	751,469	1,376	767,468
1922	658	15,304	469	833,168	1,150	948,242

SOURCES FOR ABOVE FIGURES :

For 1886-1900—L. F. Pinkus, *Palaestina und Syrien*, Geneva, 1903 (who mentions as his sources Verney and Dambmann, *Les Puissances Etrangères dans le Levant, en Syrie et en Palestine*, Paris, 1900, and *Handelsarchiv* for 1901), p. 80.

For 1902-1913—Ben Gorion and Ben Zevi, *Erez Israel*, New York, p. 214.

For 1919/20 and 1920/21—*The Economic Situation of Palestine*, Report submitted to H.E. the High Commissioner by Mr. R. A. Harari, Director of the Department of Commerce and Industry; published in the Bulletin of the Palestine Economic Society, August, 1921.

For 1921—*Commercial Bulletin*, 1922, published by the Department of Commerce and Industry, Palestine Government.

For 1922—Information obtained personally from the Department of Commerce and Industry, Palestine Government.

TRADE OF JAFFA FROM 1886 TO 1922

Year	Imports.	Exports.	Total
1886	£E. 240,880	£E. 119,555	£E. 360,435
1887	232,045	186,371	418,416
1888	253,065	204,315	457,380
1889	275,622	244,561	520,183
1890	259,811	447,010	706,821
1891	287,700	400,530	688,230
1892	342,597	258,466	601,663
1893	349,540	332,628	682,168
1894	273,233	285,604	558,837
1895	275,990	282,906	558,896
1896	256,060	373,447	629,507
1897	306,630	309,389	616,019
1898	322,430	306,780	629,210
1899	390,260	316,158	706,418
1900	382,405	264,950	647,355
1901	426,310	277,635	703,945
1902	405,550	203,390	608,940
1903	439,775	322,335	762,110
1904	473,320	295,300	768,620
1905	460,000	370,000	830,000
1906	660,000	500,000	1,160,000
1907	809,000	484,340	1,293,340
1908	803,400	556,370	1,359,770
1909	973,143	560,935	1,534,078
1910	1,002,450	636,145	1,638,595
1911	1,169,910	716,660	1,886,570
1912	1,090,019	774,162	1,864,181
1913	1,312,965	745,413	2,058,378
1914			
1915			
1916			
1917			
1918			
1919/20	1,408,238	169,308	1,577,546
1920/21	2,140,817	327,479	2,468,296
1922	2,252,314	493,300	2,745,614

SOURCES FOR ABOVE FIGURES :

- For 1886-1904—D. Trietsch, *Palästina-Handbuch*, 1910, p. 173.
 For 1905-1911—British Consular Reports, quoted by C. Nawratzki, *Das neue jüdische Palästina*, Berlin, 1919, p. 182.
 For 1912-1913—Ben Gorion and Ben Zevi, *Erez Israel*, p. 202.
 For 1919-1922—The Department of Commerce and Industry, Palestine Government.

EXPORT OF JAFFA ORANGES FROM 1885 TO 1923

Year	Number of Boxes	Value
1885	106,000	£ 26,500
1890	200,000	" 83,120
1891	?	" 106,500
1892	?	" 61,000
1893	316,000	" 80,200
1894	465,000	" 96,700
1895	260,000	" 65,000
1896	?	" 95,000
1897	?	" 90,100
1898	435,000	" 110,100
1899	?	" 99,000
1900	251,071	" 74,215
1901	?	?
1902	?	?
1903	448,000	£. 92,300
1904	468,000	" 100,000
1905	456,000	" 111,500
1906	548,000	" 157,700
1907	631,000	" 173,100
1908	676,000	" 161,500
1909	744,000	" 185,815
1910	854,000	" 235,605
1911	870,000	" 217,500
1912	1,418,000	" 283,600
1913	1,609,000	" 297,700
1914		
1915		
1916		
1917		
1918		
1919/20	647,063	" 162,409
1920/21	830,959	" 200,475
1921/22	1,122,000	" 380,500
1922/23	1,394,912	" 358,636

SOURCES FOR ABOVE FIGURES :

- For 1885, 1890, 1895, and 1900—Ben Gorion and Ben Zevi, *Erez Israel*, p. 398 (who mention British Consular reports as their sources).
 For 1891-1894 and 1896-1899—A. Aaronsohn and S. Soskin, *Die Orangengärten von Jaffa*, in *Der Tropenpflanzer* 1902, No. 7, p. 342 (sources of doubtful value).

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For 1909-1921—Commercial Bulletin of March 21st, 1922.

For 1921/22—Information obtained directly from the Customs authorities at Jaffa.

For 1922/23—Commercial Bulletin of June 7th, 1923.

THE POPULATION OF JAFFA

Year.	Number of inhabitants.
1886	17,000
1892	23,000
1897	35,000
1900	40,000
1906	47,000
1908	50,000
1922	47,779 (includes the population of Tel Aviv)

SOURCES FOR ABOVE FIGURES :

For 1885, 1892, and 1897—L. F. Pinkus, *Palästina und Syrien*, Geneva, 1903, p. 80.

For 1900—*Id.*, p. 51.

For 1906 and 1908—D. Trietsch, *Palästina-Handbuch*, 1910, p. 42.

For 1922—Information obtained directly from the District Governorate at Jaffa, on the basis of the 1922 Census.

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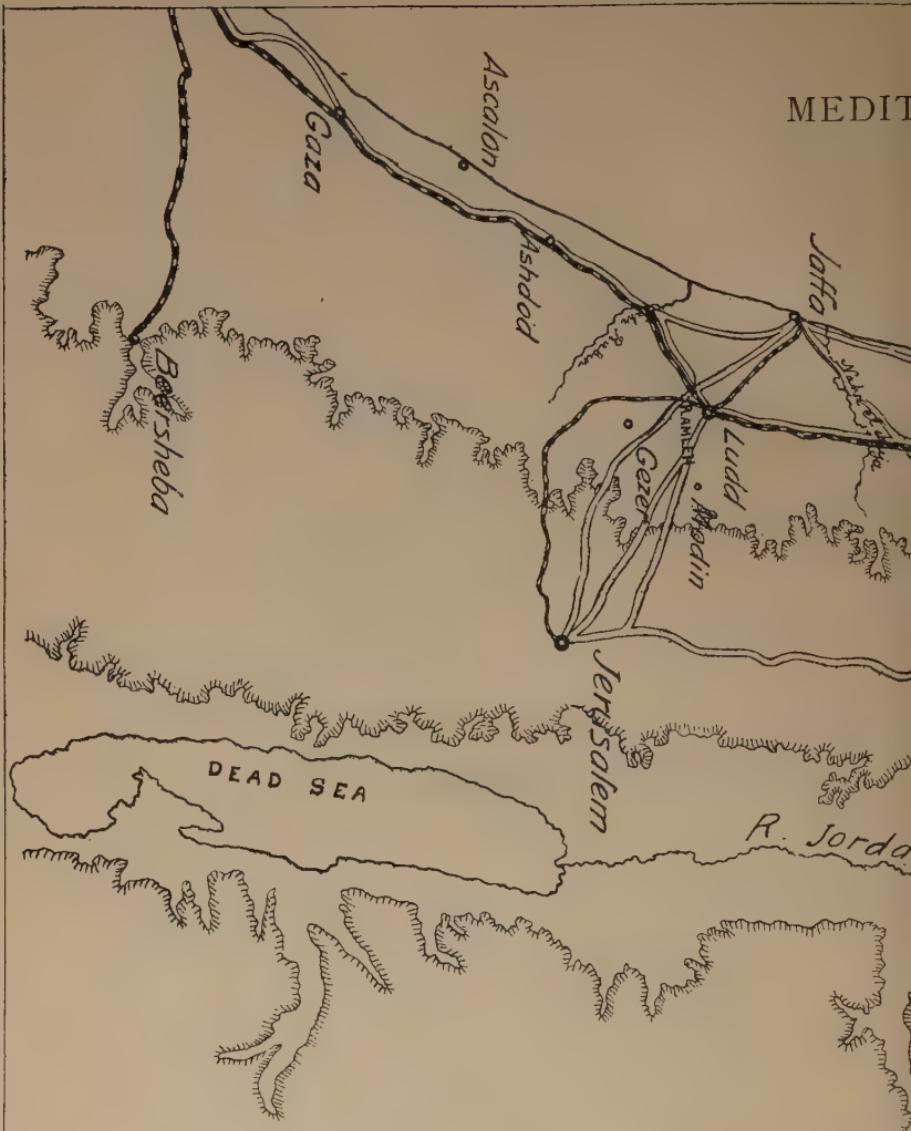
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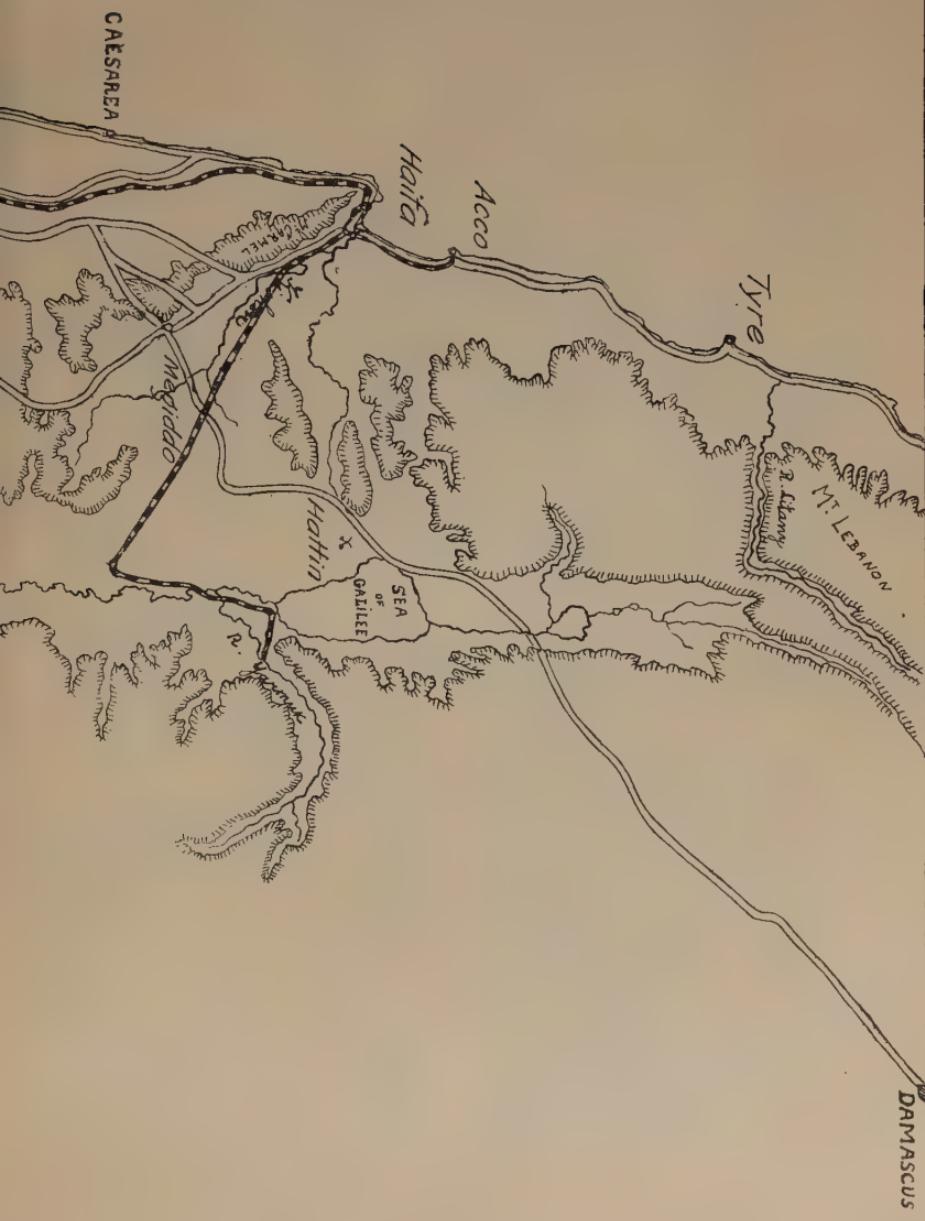
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